

For Reference

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

For Reference


NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THIS ROOM

Ex LIBRIS
UNIVERSITATIS
ALBERTAENSIS



Regulations Regarding Theses and Dissertations

[illegible]



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2022 with funding from
University of Alberta Libraries

<https://archive.org/details/Klinck1969>

1205
1969(F)
132

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

THOMAS DEKKER AND THE PROTESTANT MARTYROLOGY

by



DENNIS RAYMOND KLINCK

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE

OF MASTER OF ARTS

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1969

Thesis
1964/65
132

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled Thomas Dekker and the Protestant Martyrology submitted by Dennis R. Klinck in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

ABSTRACT

Collaboration was a common practice among the dramatists of Elizabethan and Jacobean England, and one that has raised uncounted difficulties of attribution and interpretation for subsequent scholarship. One play that is unique for the type of questions that arise from its collaborated authorship is The Virgin Martyr of Thomas Dekker and Philip Massinger.

The first question, to be asked of the play as a whole, is one of genre. Though a saint's play whose burden is the renunciation of temporal mortality, The Virgin Martyr has been classified as a tragedy. "Christian tragedy" is an implicit contradiction in terms. An examination of the play in reference to Renaissance and neo-classical theories of tragedy reveals that the tragic portion is reserved to the antagonists: the tragic world is what is renounced. Thus, corollary to the redemption that a martyr's death implies is a subversive movement that tends to devalue the humanist realm of tragedy.

The Virgin Martyr is the theological response to the problem of pain that tragedy asks. In post-Reformation Europe, however, theology was a highly sectarian concern: to Protestant England, for example, the Roman Catholic Church was specifically anti-Christian, bound to the devil and to temporal perceptions. In the same Protestant country, however, The Virgin Martyr, a play written in a Catholic genre, uniquely appeared. Some critics have even called the play Catholic "propaganda." Such a view is perhaps consistent with what have been construed as Philip Massinger's Roman Catholic sympathies, or at least, his familiarity with the idiom and practice of the Roman Church. However, it is entirely irreconcilable with the Protestantism of Thomas Dekker, the author of

such "anti-Papist" polemics as The Whore of Babylon and A Papist in Arms.

It is possible that The Virgin Martyr is merely patristic, for it deals with martyrdom in the primitive church. However, as we have seen, the tragedia sacra was a Catholic genre. Moreover, any religious presentation in post-Reformation England would likely have been viewed through sectarian eyes. Significantly, when the text of the play is examined, Massinger is discovered to be the author of the central elements of the saint's legend; Dekker's portion, somewhat extraneous to this essential theme, consists of characters apparently derived from the tradition of morality drama. Massinger is responsible for the conception of The Virgin Martyr; Dekker has provided comment and qualification of the Catholic saint's legend by imposing a different tradition upon the play.

The "Roman" part of The Virgin Martyr, written by Massinger, evinces the traditional framework of tragedy. It also gives rise to a religious ambiguity. The image of imperial Rome persecuting "true Christianity" was explicitly parallel to the Reformation depiction of the Rome of the Papacy persecuting "true religion" in the form of Protestantism. Specific allusions in the play tend to corroborate the identification of papal Rome with pagan Rome, so often invoked by the Protestant polemical tradition. These allusions may perhaps be explained by Massinger's indiscriminate use of vocabulary, but, if they were to be focused on contemporary England, they would identify the persecuting church as a Catholic one.

Dekker provides the allusions to England. Curiously, the only two persecutions that are described in detail in the play are British, and a British slave acquits himself admirably in refusing to rape the virgin

martyr. The most consistently "English" element of the play, however, is manifested in the morality figures of Hircius and Spungius, who speak like "unregenerate Britons," and whose dialogue is interlarded with anachronisms. Not only do these two characters make the play contemporary, but their reiterated "paganism" serves as a comment upon the paganism of the persecuting Roman religion. Hircius and Spungius, apparently in the tradition of Protestant morality drama, are Roman Catholic vices.

They are also the vivid incorporation of the other half of the duality implied by the spiritual world of the play's protagonists. In The Virgin Martyr, they are the representatives of carnality and depravation. As such they serve not only as a comment upon Roman Catholic doctrine and practice, but relegate that species of belief and perception to a world that is at once "tragic" and degraded. They are a positive repudiation of the world that the martyr merely transcends.

Thus, in The Virgin Martyr, Thomas Dekker appears to exploit the materials of the saint's play, skewing them to contemporary relevance and Protestant bias. As he in this way is able to participate in the writing of a "Catholic" play without compromising his religious integrity, he is similarly able to confine the tragedy that the Christian lesson and The Virgin Martyr repudiate to a specifically Catholic world.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
CHAPTER ONE	INTRODUCTION: THE THREE-FOLD PERPLEX 1
CHAPTER TWO	THE CONQUEROR OF THE CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD 18
CHAPTER THREE	THE IMAGE OF THE PERSECUTING CHURCH: "A MAPPE OF ROME". 38
CHAPTER FOUR	"THESE LOATHSOME SOOTERKINS ENGENDERED OF FILTH AND DULNESS". 65
CHAPTER FIVE	"THE UNBLOUDIE SACRIFICE" 97
CHAPTER SIX	CONCLUSION: "THE TRUTH IS BUT A SHADOW" 122
APPENDIX ONE	THE COLLABORATION 127
APPENDIX TWO	MASSINGER, DEKKER, AND THE CHRISTIAN TERENCE 129
APPENDIX THREE	THOMAS DEKKER AND THE PROTESTANT LITERARY TRADITION 137
	REFERENCES 142
	BIBLIOGRAPHY. 164

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: THE THREE-FOLD PERPLEX

In 1922, H. Dugdale Sykes, without apology, declared: "The practice of collaboration in dramatic authorship, so prevalent in Elizabethan times, has seldom yielded a more happy result than in the case of Massinger and Dekker's 'The Virgin Martyr.'" ¹ The result, which was "Divers times publickely Acted with Great Applause," ² has on the contrary been somewhat less than happy as far as criticism is concerned: as Louise George Clubb succinctly observes, the play "was destined . . . to bedevil generations of scholars with doubts about its authorship, date, source, and genre." ³

The Virgin Martyr, printed in 1622, appears to have been unique in Protestant England: ". . . the only post-Reformation saint's play on the London stage before the theaters were closed in 1642 was The Virgin Martyr." ⁴ The play treats the persecution of Christians under the Roman Emperor Diocletian, specifically, the martyrdom of St. Dorothea in A.D. 311. Dorothea, in church legend, was a Christian virgin who suffered and died at Caesarea in Cappadocia. Through her intercession, a scoffing advocate, Theophilus, was converted to the Christian faith. According to the legend, after her death she sent an angelic messenger to Theophilus with a basket of heavenly fruit from the garden of Christ--by which miracle his conversion was effected. Theophilus thereafter died a martyr.

The Virgin Martyr relies upon this legend for the central themes of Saint Dorothea's martyrdom and Theophilus' conversion. In the play, however, the Roman setting is elaborately detailed: Dioclesian,⁵ in triumph, has come to Caesarea to accept the fealty of the three conquered kings of Epire, Macedon, and Pontus, and is informed by the governor of the province, Sapritius, that the Christian "sect" is causing civil discord. Theophilus, in the play a provost, is the somewhat elderly, but nevertheless zealous instrument of Rome's tyranny against the Christians, among whom is Dorothea, "The Daughter to a Senator of Rome." A problem arises when it is discovered that the Roman military hero, Antoninus, is enamoured of the Christian virgin (who in her chastity disdains his love), for he has just previously circumvented the condescending, though passionate, suit of Dioclesian's daughter, Artemia.⁶ Unwittingly, Dorothea thus becomes the object of Artemia's vengeance and is betrayed to the powers of Rome by her two servants, the lecherous Hircius and the inebriate Spungius. These she had redeemed from the gallows, but they have fallen prey to Satan's minion, Harpax, who, in the shape of Theophilus' secretary, breathes over the left shoulder of the play.

Dorothea is condemned, but offered a reprieve if she will do homage to the Roman gods. To this intent, Theophilus sends his two daughters, Caliste and Christeta, to her. Once Christian converts and friends of Dorothea, Caliste and Christeta have reverted to the more permissive religion of Rome. Unbeguiled by their advocacy of a religion that is "a varied pleasure," and emboldened in her faith by Angelo, her page (really an angel seeking alms), she instead reconverts the two girls. The enraged Theophilus murders them without ceremony,

but reserves for Dorothea torments of a more exquisite variety. She is miraculously preserved from both the ravisher and the scourge, and is finally beheaded, but not before she has assured the conversion of Antoninus and promised the heavenly refecton to Theophilus. The play concludes with the conversion and martyrdom of Theophilus, and Dioclesian's pledge not to relent in his persecution of Christians.

The Virgin Martyr, then, is essentially a saint's play. It appears to be exclusively a Roman play concerned solely with persecutions in the primitive church. Lily Campbell, however, speaking of English Renaissance drama, asserts: "In its development saints' lives were naturally a corollary source, but for obvious reasons they did not contribute much to the English drama of this period."⁷ The "obvious reasons" are, ostensibly, that the Roman Catholic tradition of saint's legends--referred to by one irate Protestant polemicist as ". . . your Legenda Aurea, or Legend of Lyes"⁸--was inimical to the Reformation mentality. Thus, the very appearance of what is ostensibly a Catholic saint's play on the London stage in 1620 calls for explanation.

W.A. Ovaas has called The Virgin Martyr "a Roman Catholic play."⁹ Miss Clubb, confronting the question of source, has convincingly related the play to the tragedia sacra of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. She invokes the tradition of the Dorothea legend in Renaissance drama, citing the anonymous Rappresentatione di Santa Dorotea Vergine e Martire (which went through twelve editions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), the "Christian Terence" form of the legend as it appeared in Chilianus Mellerstatinus' Comedia gloriose parthenices martiris Dorothee agonia[^] passionem (1507) (see Appendix II), and three lost

tragedie sacre about Dorothea: Giambattista Della Porta's Santa Dorotea (ante 1591), Orazio Persio's Martire di Santa Dorotea Rappresentazione Sacra (Naples, 1610), and Giovanni Leonardo Tristano's La Dorotea Vergine e Martire, Tragedia Sacra (Naples, 1642) which, though later than The Virgin Martyr, "manifests the continued popularity of Dorothea as a heroine of the genre."¹⁰ Her conclusion is that Massinger and Dekker's play is "The English cousin to the familiar tragedia sacra of Rome,"¹¹ and that the authors "may well have gone through the motions of Italian Counter-Reformation dramatists who chose their subjects from the tradition of sacred drama. . . ."¹² To the extent, therefore, that The Virgin Martyr is relatable to the Counter-Reformation tradition (and no other tradition affords the same direct correspondences for the frame structure of the play), it is written in a Roman Catholic genre. What were Massinger, and especially Dekker, doing writing a play in a Catholic genre for their predominantly Protestant audiences?

Miss Clubb argues from this generic conclusion that Massinger was responsible for the originating idea of The Virgin Martyr: she refers to his The Renegado (1624) in which "Massinger paints a full-length portrait of an ideal Jesuit,"¹³ and The Maid of Honor (pr. 1632) which "reveals Massinger's deliberate use of elements favored by Counter-Reformation policy,"¹⁴ in support of this claim. As she says, "it is not the occasional reference or odd incident which betrays Counter-Reformation influence--it is the essence of the play which does so."¹⁵ R. Boyle, in The Cambridge History of English Literature, similarly attributes "the conception and framework" of The Virgin Martyr to Massinger.¹⁶

W. Gifford baldly asserts that "The language and ideas of this play are purely Catholic."¹⁷ Indeed, such a passage as Angelo's reply to Dorothea when she asks whether the angel that he now appears to be is the same as the page in whose form he had served her, is Catholic in tone and doctrine.

Know I am the same,
And still the seruant to your pietie,
Your zealous prayers and pious deeds first wonne me
(But 'twas by his command to whom you sent 'em)
To guide your steps. I tride your charitie,
When in a beggers shape you tooke me vp
And clothd my naked limbes, and after fed
(As you beleeu'd) my famishd mouth. Learne all
By your example to looke on the poore
With gentle eyes, for in such habits often
Angels desire an Almes (IV, iii, 135-45).

And Theophilus, after his conversion, makes an allusion that must have evoked thoughts of the Rome of the Papacy; he tells of Dorothea's death:

O marke it therefore, and with that attention,
As you would hear an Embassie from heauen
By a wing'd Legate, for the truth deliuerd,
Both how and what this blessed virgin sufferd
(V, ii, 103-6).

The "wing'd Legate" is an angel; note, however, as a qualification to the theological implications of the passage, that Theophilus uses the word "Legate" to get the attention of his listeners Dioclesian and the Roman court.

Henri Jacob Makkink suggests that those who have construed the Roman Catholicism of The Virgin Martyr have placed overmuch emphasis upon the burning taper that Angelo brings to Dorothea and the cross of flowers that Theophilus finds at the bottom of the basket of fruit.¹⁸ Gifford is one who apparently regards this cross as evidence of Roman Catholic image-worship, but the cross hardly qualifies as an exclusively

Catholic symbol. John Foxe, for example, displays the figure of a cross with that of the Bible below the illustrations of Christian martyrdoms in his Book of Martyrs. Similarly, when Dorothea calls for her "book and taper" (II, i, 174) she is uttering a pregnant word: Protestant writers of the Reformation identified candles and tapers with Roman Catholic ceremony. The author of one tract asks the way to glory: "Was it not rather in preaching repentaunce, and amendment of life, and free remission of sinnes, unto all that are true repentant, by the faith which they ought to have in Jesus Christ, without sending them hyther and thither, with tapers, golde and silver?"¹⁹ In the Kynge Johan of that virulent anti-Papist, John Bale, "Dissimulation" says to "Sedition": "We lacke neyther golde nor sylwer, gyrdles nor rynges,/Candelles nor tapers, nor other customyd offerynges."²⁰ Both these stalwarts are discernibly Catholic vices. Again, a qualification might be suggested: the taper is not introduced in The Virgin Martyr as a ceremonial adjunct, but solely as a light by which to read. Moreover, the appearance of a taper on stage seems not necessarily to have evoked images of Papistry: in 1607, for example, we find performing before Prince Henry at the Merchant Tailors' School ". . . a very proper child, well spoken, being clothed like an angel of gladness with a taper of frankincense burning in his hand, delivered a short speech of 18 verses by Ben Jonson . . ."²¹

Similarly, the charity and "blessed actions" of Dorothea cited above, and perhaps having doctrinal reference to the efficacy of works and merit towards salvation, must be regarded with reservation. The redemption of both Antoninus and Theophilus, for example, is accomplished

solely by the machinery of grace. Moreover, charity was by no means an exclusively "Catholic" virtue. Lady Jane Grey, herself a Protestant martyr, argued this very point with the eminent Catholic divine, and Mary Tudor's confessor, John Feckenham, in 1554:

Fecknam. What is then required of a Christian man?

Jane. That he should believe in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God.

Fecknam. What? Is there nothing else to be required or looked for in a christian, but to believe in him?

Jane. Yes, we must love him with all our heart, with all our soul, and with all our mind, and our neighbour as ourself.

Fecknam. Why? then faith justifieth not, nor saveth not.

Jane. Yes verily, faith, as Paul saith, only justifieth.

Fecknam. Why? St. Paul saith, "If I have all faith without love it is nothing.

Jane. True it is; for how can I love him whom I trust not, or how can I trust him whom I love not? Faith and love go both together, and yet love is comprehended in faith.

Fecknam. How shall we love our neighbor?

Jane. To love our neighbour is to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and to give drink to the thirsty, and to do to him as we would do to ourselves.²²

Throughout The Virgin Martyr, there appear words, such as "merits," "sacrifice," "altar," "votaries," "mysteries," "indulgence," "priest," which could have Roman Catholic connotations. However, although it is perhaps too soon to generalize, these suggestive words almost exclusively occur either in specific reference to the religion of the play's antagonists, or in scenes that are usually attributed to Massinger.

Not only does Gifford conclude that The Virgin Martyr is a Roman Catholic play, but partly from it, he infers that Philip Massinger

was a Catholic: "A close and repeated perusal of Massinger's works has convinced me that he was a Catholic: The Virgin-Martyr, The Renegado, The Maid of Honour, exhibit innumerable proofs of it. . . ." ²³ The question of Massinger's alleged conversion has been the topic of considerable scholarly debate: Lucius A. Sherman suggests the plausibility of the allegation on the grounds not only of internal dramatic evidence, but as well upon "the fact . . . of Massinger's especial intimacy with Sir Aston Cockayne and the Earl of Carnarvon, both of the Catholic party . . ."; ²⁴ F.G. Fleay "feels pretty sure that MASSINGER had to leave the university because the Earl of Pembroke withdrew his support on hearing that MASSINGER had become a Romanist." ²⁵ H.J. Makkink, on the other hand, using a passage from The Emperor of the East in which a priest lies to extract information in the confessional, and an alleged allusion to Frederick V in The Maid of Honour, feels that Massinger was not a Catholic himself but that "there was much in the Roman Catholic church that MASSINGER admired, and as religious persecutions and intolerance were both hateful to this liberal-minded man, I have no doubt that he tried to preach the gospel of tolerance to his Protestant countrymen. . . ." ²⁶ This ad hominem statement appears to me naive.

Makkink does have a legitimate objection, however. The hypothesis that Massinger was a Catholic is based upon three arguments, one a postulated fact, the other two palpable fallacies. Massinger left Oxford in 1606 without taking a degree: it has been advanced that he left because of financial difficulties, the result of the withdrawal of support by the Earl of Pembroke (whose patronage Massinger is not known to have enjoyed), the result of Massinger's recusancy. None of this is

verified. Moreover, two of the plays (The Renegado and The Maid of Honour) from which Massinger's sympathies have been deduced, are set in Catholic countries, and the antagonists are Turks and Mohammedans: "We might as well infer," asserts A.H. Cruikshank, "that Shakspeare was a Roman Catholic because Silvia goes to Friar Patrick's cell, or because Friar Laurence is prominent in Romeo and Juliet."²⁷ Thirdly, that Massinger had Roman Catholic friends is no proof that he was himself of their persuasion: "I fail to see," states Makkink with somewhat impatient logic, "why a Protestant cannot be on terms of friendship with a Roman Catholic."²⁸ It would be as reasonable to suggest that Massinger must have been a Protestant because he wrote The Virgin Martyr in collaboration with the Protestant Dekker. Finally, that Massinger was familiar with the idiom of the Roman Catholic Church is not evidence that he subscribed to its views: it does, however, suggest a recognizable characteristic of his style which might, for example, be exploited by a careful collaborator or resourceful revisor.

That Massinger was a Roman Catholic is not untenable, however; it is merely inconclusive. That he does write in the terminology of Rome lends credence to Miss Clubb's argument that he, not Dekker, was probably responsible for the framework of The Virgin Martyr.

The Virgin Martyr, or rather a "new reforming" thereof, was licensed on October 6, 1620²⁹ by Sir George Buc. The play therefore must have been written by 1620, and the account of payment to the Master of the Revels suggests the possibility of an earlier date.³⁰ Dekker was incarcerated in the King's Bench prison for seven years prior to the publication of Dekker His Dreame in 1620, "when he was released

from prison."³¹ By his own testimony, his pen had been dormant during his time of imprisonment: he declares "to the Reader" in his Dreame that he has just awakened "Ovt of a long Sleepe, which for almost seuen yeares together, seized al my sences, drawing them in a deep Lethe of forgetfulnesse, and burying me to the World, in the lowest grave of Obliuion. . . ."³² Thus, if the version of The Virgin Martyr licensed in 1620 was, as various critics³³ have postulated, a reworking by Massinger of an earlier play by Dekker, the original version would almost certainly have to have been written before 1613: there is no evidence that it was.

The play does, on the other hand, contain at least one specific suggestion that it was written in 1613 or later. The hel-hound, Harpax, describing the manifold attractions of the devil, answers Hircius, who has asked if Satan loves "a Catchpole": "As a Bearward does a dog, a Catchpole! he has sworn if ever he dies to make a Serieant his heire, and a Yoeman his overseer" (III, iii, 176-8). This is likely an allusion to The Catchpole's Masque, which Dekker had published in 1613. Appended to this miscellaneous pamphlet is "The Diuels Last Will and Testament," in which he makes bequests to "all officers that love mee" and to "all Tailors and Keepers of prisons."³⁴ In this instance, however, his "overseers" are two Knights "who are my sworne seruants." The occurrence of the devil's will, and his bequests to dishonest officers of the law are paralleled in The Virgin Martyr. If the passage in The Virgin Martyr does allude to The Catchpole's Masque, then the play--at least Dekker's contribution--was probably written after January 21, 1613, when the pamphlet was entered in the Stationers'

Register. However, by October 11, 1619, the date of entry of Dekker His Dreame, the dramatist had written that he had been sleeping "for almost seuen yeares." Seven years before October 11, 1619 would be October 11, 1612. The appearance of The Catchpole's Masque in early 1613 diminishes the "seuen yeares" by three months; the writing of The Virgin Martyr after that would cut even more drastically into the period that Dekker mentions in Dekker His Dreame. It appears unlikely that Dekker would have had time after the writing of The Catchpole's Masque, and before his arrest, to have written The Virgin Martyr. That his interest in the devil, manifested in If This Be Not a Good Play (ca. 1612) and The Catchpole's Masque, persisted after his release from prison is evidenced by his soporific vision of Hell in Dekker His Dreame.

G.E. Bentley concludes, from the size of the licensing fee, that The Virgin Martyr was new in 1620 "but required censoring and, consequently, a second reading by Buc."³⁵ Miss Clubb suggests that "quite possibly the revisions were aimed at making The Virgin Martyr seem 'rather patristic than popish,' as it later did to Hartley Coleridge."³⁶ Unquestionably, the play at first glance does seem to be simply "patristic." However, Miss Clubb claims that "Even after revision, the very subject of the play would have smacked of popish idolatry to many of Dekker and Massinger's contemporaries."³⁷ The question, if this is the case, that must be raised is why Dekker should allow his name to be associated with what Miss Clubb calls "Catholic propaganda," albeit "mildly allegorical."³⁸ Moreover, how is the "great applause" to be accounted for, unless the play was viewed mainly by Catholics, or it was not recognizable as a Catholic play? And, finally, if "Only in a Protestant country could the representation of a struggle between a

saint and the state religion suggest to a Roman Catholic mind the actual conflict of religious right and wrong,"³⁹ how is it that The Virgin Martyr was allowed by the censors?

Thomas Dekker, for all the truisms about his "geniality," "generosity of spirit," and "simplicity of mind," had a genuine religious temper that underlies much of his work: he had said "There is a Hell named in our Creede, and a Heaven, and the Hell comes before: If we looke not unto the firste, we shall never live in the last."⁴⁰ Miss Clubb allows that Dekker "was temperamentally equipped to work on the subject of the virgin martyr"⁴¹ and Mary Leland Hunt says that Dekker's intellectual tastes were "serene and confessedly Christian."⁴² For confirmation of this appraisal, one need only read Canaan's Calamities (1598), Patient Grissill (1603), The Ravens Almanacke, Foretelling of a Plague, Famine, and Civill Warre (1609), Foure Birdes of Noah's Arke (1609), If This Be Not a Good Play, the Devil is in It (ca. 1612), and Dekker His Dreame (1620), all works of a religious nature.

Not only were his "intellectual tastes" Christian, however; they were explicitly Protestant. Of The Foure Birdes of Noah's Arke, Kate L. Gregg asserts: ". . . when he [Dekker] considered the relations between man, God, and the universe, he was a Calvinist, and as a Calvinist emphasized the omnipotence of God, the depravity of man, the need for repentance, the marvels of God's grace, the danger of the world, the flesh, and the devil, as stoutly as the most extreme Puritan."⁴³ More significantly, Dekker resorted to Protestant polemics in The Whore of Babylon (pr. 1607) and The Double PP: A Papist in Arms (1606). Miss Clubb fails to explain why Dekker's anti-catholicism,

which she invokes in discrediting his as the originating genius of The Virgin Vartyr, would yet allow him to participate in the writing of a Roman Catholic play.

I cannot but endorse her attribution of the conception of The Virgin Martyr to Massinger. We have seen that Massinger, either as a Roman Catholic himself, or as an author certainly at home in the idiom of the Roman church, is far more likely than Dekker to have encountered the Dorothea legend in the tragedia sacra.⁴⁴ Moreover, Massinger's name appears before Dekker's on the title page of the first edition: in 1622, Dekker's name and reputation were well established and he had seniority--why should he defer to Massinger, unless the play was primarily the younger dramatist's work? More important, however, is the nature of the collaboration: Massinger has quite obviously supplied the scenes that are central to the plot and Dekker has provided what may tentatively be described as "elaborate decoration."

Critics seem to be in general agreement in attributing to Massinger Act I (which includes the introduction of the conquered kings, Theophilus the persecutor, Artemia's love for Antoninus, Antoninus' love for Dorothea)--setting the stage for all that is to follow (Appendix I). He is given III, i as well, in which the debate between Dorothea and Caliste and Christeta occurs, III, ii, in which the reconverted daughters of Theophilus spurn idolatry and are killed, IV, iii, in which Dorothea's martyrdom occurs, and V, ii, the final scene in which the regenerate Theophilus confronts Dioclesian and his cohorts. The central elements of the saint's legend are dramatized by Massinger.

Dekker, on the other hand, here appears to fit Jonson's characterization of him as a "dresser of plays": to The Virgin Martyr he contributes holus-bolus the low-life scenes of the underplot in which Hircius and Spungius appear, and which seem so incongruous with the saint's play. Gifford, for example, argues that "this execrable trash was assuredly written by Decker, as was the the rest of this act, in which there is much to approve: with respect to this scene, and every other in which the present speakers [Hircius and Spungius] are introduced, I recommend them to the reader's supreme scorn and contempt; if he pass them entirely over, he will lose little of the story, and nothing of his respect for the writer."⁴⁵ Hircius and Spungius are remarkable for their irrepressible propensity to speak in the jargon, not of classical Rome, but of London low-life:

Hirc. Let him leade that way, but follow thou me this way.

Spung. I live in a Iayle?

Hirc. A way and shift for our selues, sheele do well enough there, for prisoners are more hungry after mutton, then Catchpoles after prisoners.

Spung. Let her starue then if a whole Iayle will not fill her belly (II, iii, 272-7).

It is further remarkable that all the allusions to England in The Virgin Martyr (for example, the British slave in IV, i, and Theophilus' speeches in V, i) occur in passages univocally attributed by critics to Dekker. Thus, when Miss Clubb cites the refusal of "the much-admired British slave" to ravish Dorothea as "a flattering or hopeful symbol [to Catholics] of the average Englishman's opposition to persecution,"⁴⁶ she is treading on what Robert Greene would call "brittle Glasse": this scene was written by Dekker, who would appear to have had scant

cause to encourage the Catholics.

H. Dugdale Sykes, whose attribution upon critical grounds appears to be eminently satisfactory and well-supported (see Appendix I), feels that Dekker and Massinger worked together on the play, "and that 'The Virgin Martyr' is the result of collaboration in the true sense of the term."⁴⁷ He bases this argument upon the observation that several scenes in the play (for example, II, ii; II, iii; IV, i; V, i) show evidence of both hands. However, from the rather clear delineation of other scenes by both author and content, it seems unlikely that in some scenes the "collaboration" should be intimate. The occurrence of both dramatists' work together in, for example, one speech suggests to me retouching, or revision, rather than collaboration. However, as we have seen, it is entirely likely that The Virgin Martyr was Massinger's to begin with: thus, if there was revision, I would postulate that it was done by Dekker,⁴⁸ especially in view of the fact that the portions that he is known to have contributed do violence to the play as a tragedia sacra. And if the play is a true collaboration, Dekker's contribution nevertheless constitutes a subversive movement that at once complements the sanctity of the martyr and tends to upset the historical and theological relevance of the play.

The Virgin Martyr is, then, as Miss Clubb suggests, an ambiguous production: it would appear to be a Roman Catholic play written in collaboration by a Roman Catholic and a Protestant. This would not be a questionable supposition were it not for the theological subject of the production and its undoubted popularity in a country living in fear, or at least sabbatical reminiscence, of ". . . the inueterate malice,

Treasons, Machinations, Vnderminings, and continuall bloody stratagems, of that Purple whore of Roome, to the taking away of our Princes lives and vtter extirpation of their Kingdomes. . . ."49 The evaluation of the Rome of the Papacy as the "Whore of Babylon" was unquestionably an unfair one--Catholics being as sincere in their beliefs as members of any religion--but the Roman church held many glaringly vulnerable positions, of which Protestant polemicists and preachers were wont to make what capital they could. A religious presentation must therefore be interpreted in the light of prevailing prejudices and controversies that had imminent relevance in an age of theological absolutism.

More than a religious anomaly, The Virgin Martyr is a generic anomaly. "The distinguishing merit of this tragedy," writes Ward, "lies in the grandeur of the conception, which indicates a noble ambition to rise above the level of the themes to which English tragedy of the age had accustomed itself and its audiences."⁵⁰ On its title page, The Virgin Martyr is called a tragedy, but the right of a play celebrating "the death of the body" qualified by "the manifest triumph of the soul"⁵¹ to this appellation is questionable. The "grandeur of conception," like the sanctity of the play, is seriously degraded by the intransigent presence of Hircius and Spungius, whose "comic" relief is in fact juxtaposed with characters whose deaths are the prelude to a divine comedy. The religious moral that The Virgin Martyr postulates is a denial of the human questions of guilt, suffering, and evil that tragedy asks. To the doubts about the theology of The Virgin Martyr must be added questions of whose the tragedy is, and what is the value of tragedy. To the anomaly of Christian tragedy must be brought the query: if the play is tragic, but the protagonists' martyrdom is

glorious, wherein lies the tragedy? Or is tragedy a loose term for that which is serious in human affairs? But that which is serious in human affairs is irrelevant by the standards of eternity.

I ask these questions because The Virgin Martyr asks them. Perceptible in the play is a double movement of Rome versus the Primitive church, of license versus piety, of tragedy versus comedy, always with the question lurking: what is the theological relevance of this play, written in a Catholic tradition for a Protestant audience? These complementary movements, I will suggest, are not only parallel, but identical, and the question is resolved in Dekker's crafty revision or careful adaptation of Massinger's "grandeur of conception" for a contemporary audience.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CONQUEROR OF THE CONQUEROR OF THE WORLD

Louise Clubb formulates a definition of the tragedia sacra that involves an implicit contradiction: it was, she says, "distinctly a combination of religious content and up-to-date tragic form, i.e., the neoclassical and pseudo-neoclassical forms utilized by sixteenth-century Italian secular playwrights for audiences of tragedy. . . ." ¹ The contradiction is that, while both religion and tragedy confront the problems of pain and evil, their resolutions of these problems are antithetical. The religious response (at least in Christian theology, with which both the tragedia sacra and The Virgin Martyr are impregnated) is a denial of the tortured questioning of tragedy; the tragic response requires, ultimately, a scepticism irreconcilable with the consolatory vision of religion. Thus, when Miss Clubb speaks of "religious content" and "tragic form," the second elements of her distinction, "content" and "form," must be remembered. For all its "neoclassical tragic form," a martyr's legend is not tragic.

In The Virgin Martyr, Macrinus, Antoninus' go-between with the heavenly Dorothea, mistakenly envisages her death to be tragic:

Yet sir tis my wonder
That you who hearing onely what she suffers,
Pertake of all her tortures, yet will be
To adde to your calamitie, an eye witnesse
Of her last Tragicke scene, which must pierce deeper
And make the wound more desperate (IV,iii, 18-23).

Dorothea herself appears to expect that her story, retold, will evoke a tragic response:

. . . O strike quickly
And though you are vnmo'd to see my death,
Hereafter when my story shall be read,
As they were present now, the hearers shall
Say this of Dorothea with wet eyes,
She liu'd a virgin, and a virgin dies
(IV, iii, 174-9).

But the tears of pity are required only to melt the hearts of the hearers; Dorothea fully wishes that these tears become tears of faith.

Certainly, to her, death has no sting. Her valuation of the life that she is leaving is one of contempt tempered with remembrance of its lessons:

What is this life? to me not worth a thought
Or if to bee esteemd, 'tis that I loose it
To win a better . . . (IV, iii, 73-5).

Her heavenly intercessor, Angelo, has already held out to her the promise of that "better" life, whose realization indeed would make the loss of "this life" a "trifle":

O my admired mistresse; quench not out
The holy fires within you, though temptations
Showre downe vpon you: claspe thine armour on,
Fight well, and thou shalt see, after these warres
Thy head weare Sunbeams, and thy feet touch starres
(II, iii, 190-4).

That a play whose principal protagonist gains "an Eternall habitation" and learns to walk among the stars should be labelled a "tragedy" involves either a violent contradiction in terms, or at least, a loose usage of the designation "tragedy."

Lady Jane Grey, who regarded herself as a martyr, admonished her sister to rejoice on the eve of execution: "Live still to die, that you by death may purchase eternal life."² St. Agnes, whose story,

as Louise Clubb points out, markedly resembles that of Dorothea in The Virgin Martyr,³ died a martyr when she would not accede to the lusts of the son of a Roman prefect. At her death, her father "carried away her body, without shewing any sorrow, yea, he made signes rather of joy, and of content."⁴ Thus, pitiful though her death may appear, when Dorothea enters in Act V "in a white robe, crownes vpon her robe, a Crowne vpon her head, lead in by [Angelo] the Angell . . .," her "tragedy" is transcended, the world of "warres" defeated.* In Christian terms, implicit in the martyr's death is the Ascension that answers the Crucifixion. If there are tears for Dorothea, they should be tears of joy and gratitude.

If there are tears of pity, they should be for the wickedness of the evil men who remain in the world of temptation and strife. Dorothea implies this when she "pities" Artemia

. . . that you loose ten times more
By torturing me, than I that dare your tortures,
Through all the army of my sinnes, I haue euen
Labord to breake, and cope with death to the face;
The visage of a hangman frights not me;
The sight of whips, rackes, gibbets, axes, fires
Are scaffoldings, by which my soule climbs vp
To an Eternall habitation (II, iii, 161-9).

Dorothea herself has coped "with death to the face" and, to her satisfaction, has answered the question of death. It is her antagonists, bound at once to the world and to the fear of death, who perpetuate evil and tragedy in the world. Dioclesian concludes the play:

I thinke the centre of the earth be crakt,
Yet I still stand vnmou'd, and will go on,
The persecution that is here begun,
Through all the world with violence shall run
(V, ii, 239-42).

*The bracketed word is supplied by Bowers.

He is wrong, of course, since by Dorothea's example and final apotheosis, the "centre of the world" is healed. However, his faulty perception that measures all things by his own imperial power, commits him to perpetual tragedy. Unlike "tragedies" such as Julius Caesar, Othello, even Hamlet, in which an unimpressive order is restored after a scene of magnificent violence, in The Virgin Martyr, a magnificent resolution is followed by a final commitment to violence and chaos that, by contrast, seems rather petty.

Thus, when M.L. Hunt calls The Virgin Martyr a tragedy "if the death of the body and the manifold triumph of the soul constitute a tragedy . . .,"⁵ she is expending critical energy to small avail. So is Oscar Mandel, who argues for "Christian tragedy":

The redemption of Orestes is echoed in all the characteristic Christian tragedies. Guilty heroes, having been cast down materially or spiritually by their sins, repent and are saved. Innocent heroes who have suffered martyrdom are carried aloft into heaven and rewarded. Even before that, the wounds that they have received in defence of the faith may be healed by angels, as we read in the legend of St. Catherine. Nevertheless, these stories are tragic; that is to say, the tragedy is consummated, regardless of what follows after. Only if the angels interfered in time to prevent any suffering would tragedy be averted.

This is perhaps so in the case of Orestes, whose "redemption" is not guaranteed by his tragic suffering. However, where the "tragedy" is made the necessary antecedent of glorious redemption, where "what follows after" is implicit in the "consummation" of the tragedy, as in a martyr's death, the tragic process is transcended, apotheosized. Thus, when Thora Blatt complains "If a thoroughly sad conclusion is made the chief criterion of the genre of tragedy, no play treating of divine grace will ever qualify,"⁷ she is uttering, contrary to her rhetorical

intention, a significant truth. Whatever her apprehension of "a thoroughly sad conclusion" may be, no play treating of divine grace will qualify as tragedy. Thus, for example, the martyr plays of Hrotswitha the nun are called "comedies," though comedies of divine implication (see Appendix II).

In the unequivocal view of Laurence Michel, "at the root of the question of living in a vale of tears . . . there is a basic incompatibility between the tragic and the Christian view. Therefore, "nothing has yet come forward which can be called, without cavil, both Christian and Tragedy at the same time."⁸ Laura Jepson concurs.⁹ If "the grip of tragic forces is allowed to be broken in this world or the next," then, according to Willard Farnham, "The sense of irreparable loss--partial if not total--and of inevitable suffering by which the greatest tragedies move men to a peculiar pity and fear must remain thwarted."¹⁰

The point is that tragedy "does not occur in any society that has developed a coherent doctrine to account for the existence of evil."¹¹ The Christian account of evil, at least to the extent that Christianity postulates a spiritual existence and an afterworld apart from human experience, allows that evil conduces to spiritual self-actualization. Heinrich Bullinger, the sixteenth-century Genevan reformer, advances this position: "And God, likewise, who is displeased with crueltie, who also doth no evell, nether suffreth it to bee doone unpunished, useth evell deedes, wrath, and sauage crueltie of his enemies vnto the commodity of the faithful. . . ."¹² It is significant that this statement occurs in a tract called The Tragedies

of Tyrants, for in a play like The Virgin Martyr, the tyrants appear in antagonism to those who transcend tragedy. Similarly, William Tyndale advances the position that temporal suffering is, in the Christian vision, not tragic, but heuristic: "nothing is so good to the mortifying of the flesh, as the cross and the tribulation."¹³ Quite obviously the whole burden of Dorothea's martyrdom is an account of the glorious spiritual transformations wrought through, but superseding, the perpetuation of temporal evil.

Dekker elsewhere has confronted the problem of evil, specifically, of original sin and guilt: "why for a few sins that are long hence past/Must I feel torment that shall ever last"; "Why is the devil,/If man be born good, suffered to make him evil?"¹⁴ Asked in despair, these are tragic questions; asked rhetorically, they are a prelude to the kind of explanation that we have seen in The Virgin Martyr and that Dekker provides elsewhere:

You see therefore how dreadfull a fellow Death is, making fooles euen of wisemen, and cowards of the most valiant; yea in such a base slauerie hath it bound mens sences, that they haue no power to look higher than their own roofes, but seemes by their turkish and barbarous actions to belieue that there is no felicitie after this life, and that (like beasts) their soules shall perish with their bodyes.¹⁵

Thus, in his Golden Epistles, Geoffrey Fenton is able to admonish the banished Sir Peter Giron: "So that in consideration of the Success of this Banishment, I see not but it is a Fortune necessarie, and an Estate working glorye to your Howse, and gives no occasion of grieffe to your persone: for right Blessed is that Marterdome [sic] by whose Paynes we are passed into greater perfection. . . ."¹⁶ Where evil exists as a divine instrument for the punishment of the wicked and for

the edification of the good, the results of apparent evil cannot be estimated to be tragic. This is especially so in the case of a martyr play like The Virgin Martyr, in which the divine presence is so palpably felt.

A humanist sceptic might regard the religious account of suffering as, at best, a comfortable illusion that denies the possibility of "reality-oriented" relationships in life. However, to the Christian, the account is valid, even if it is merely a rationalization. Horace Walpole (if we are to believe George Meredith) once suggested that life is a tragedy to those who feel, and a comedy to those who think. The formal, intellectual, or theological response to evil--in so far as they structure explanations of experience, and not experience itself--constitute an insulation against or escape from the tragic response, which redeems itself only (as Aristotle quite rightly suggests) affectively through identification and purgation. It is one thing to purge pity and terror by exorcising these emotions, and quite another to reflect upon tragedy as the moral consequence of a restricted vision, and to defeat terror by avoiding it. The Christian vision postulates an alternative to a world in which value must sometimes be measured by tragedy. However, to the sensibility that requires rationalization in denial of experience, it is no longer relevant that the postulates of religion violate the emotional sense of life upon which tragedy depends.

Laura Jepson claims that "because Aristotle had no theory of a moral relationship between god and man, no assumption that a just God governs man's actions on earth, such as is implicit in Aeschylean ethics and in the Christian doctrine of retribution, he did not give first

rating to a tragedy which emphasizes the imposition of divine rewards and punishments."¹⁷ "Mere" justice--the possibility of righting "a crime for which there is no cure"--subverts the sense of tragedy. What then of a God who "was wont to be called the God of vengeance, and now is he named the Father of mercie"?¹⁸ The God of the New Testament promises not only justice, satisfaction, but forgiveness, atonement, redemption: "Christ's sacrificial death is objectively and sovereignly efficacious in the work of delivering man from the evil of sin and of reestablishing the union between God and man."¹⁹

The sense of value that tragedy tests and discovers to be violently paradoxical is justified by the religious mind that finds exterior criteria. Value deferred to a postulated "other world," a supra-mortal reality, renders the significance of mortality less absolute. As Farnham states: "The access of interest in human suffering which accompanied the development of Contempt of the World could only become the foundation for a great tragic art by changing ascetic scorn for the active life that produced suffering into sympathy and understanding."²⁰ To the extent that it is a de contemptu mundi play in the humanist Renaissance, The Virgin Martyr is again an anomaly, with its roots in the medieval Christian tradition. The play is consummated in eternity--evil men are left to work out their carnal damnation trying to master the caprices of the affection-bound pagan deities, in particular, the fickle goddess Fortuna.

Certainly, in the medieval tradition, tragedy was concerned with the unfortunate falls of noble men: "What other thing," asks Boethius, "doth the out-crie of Tragedies lament but that Fortune, having no

respect, overturneth happie states?"²¹ The theme is picked up as a definition of tragedy by Boccaccio (De Casibus) and by Chaucer's Monk:

Tragedie is to seyn a certeyn storie,
As olde bookes maken us memorie,
Of hym that stood in great prosperitie,
And is yfallen out of heigh degree
Into myserie, and endeth wrecchedly.²²

Our experience of The Virgin Martyr bears no suggestion that Dorothea's end is wretched. Indeed, it is Dioclesian who seems destined to "myserie." John Lydgate's Fall of Princes bears the same burden as The Monk's Tale:

And semblabli Iohn Bochas, as I fynde,
Gan turne his back, look and countenaunce,
And to remembre, apoynting in his mynde
To the stories rehersed in substaunce
In his too bookis off sorwe & displeaunce,
Hymself astonyd, merveilyng a gret deel
The fall off pryncis fro Fortunys wheel.²³

Boethius' response to tragedy, and his own sense of tragedy, is a stoical one: the gifts of Fortune being wholly mutable and unpredictable are of no real value; their loss is no cause for tragic concern. Fortune, however, far from being a lamentable principle, is the minion of Providence, for the adversity that she brings to men turns their minds to what Chaucer calls "soothfastnesse."

It is a similar kind of "soothfastnesse", explained in Christian allegorical terms, that the "Elizian" in Anthony Copley's A Fig for Fortune (1596) is seeking. Fallen into spiritual despair (perhaps a result of "Papist" recusancy), the "Elizian" considers alternatives. "Catoes ghost" complains "in four-fold misconsorted voyce" that he has had a similar period of tragedy:

Whilom I was a man of Romes reioyce
 Whiles happy Fortune my estate vppropped:
 But once when Caesar over-topped all,
 Then (loe) this mid-night shape did me befall.²⁴

To escape from such whipcracks of Fortune, he advocates the sure ablation of stoical suicide. Copley's "Elizian," impressed mainly with the Roman worthy's sulphurous, or brimstone odor, decides that the better part of renunciation is redemption, and proceeds in a search for consolation that ends with Christian faith and allegiance to "Eliza."

Therefore, although as Willard Farnham suggests, "with the Renaissance came again the sense of value in mortal life, which as its corollary is able to bring the sense of tragedy in death,"²⁵ the vein of renunciation of the realm of Fortune remained. Higgins' "Induction" to the Mirror for Magistrates (1587), for example, describes the nature of tragedy:

And as againe, I vewde this work with heede;
 And marked playne eache party tell his fall
 Mee thought in mynde, I sawe those men in deede:
 Eke how they came, in order pleading all,
 Declaring well, this life is but a thrall:
 Sithe those on whom, for Fortunes gifts we stare,
 Ofte sooniste sinke in greatest seas of care.²⁶

Thomas Crewe, in his "Verses of a blessed life" prefixed to A Nosegay of morall Philosophie (1580) is similarly wary of Fortune:

Who mounts to honours loft,
 and sits on fortunes wheele
 From top is tossed oft,
 and oft adowne doth reele:
 With thunder claps we see,
 hie Towers soone shaken bee.

And Geoffrey Fenton, sounding much like Boethius, admonishes: ". . . one of the greatest vertues that worldly men can expresse in their common behavior of this lyfe, is neyther to rise proud by prosperitie,

nor fall into dispaire by adversitie. For fortune having a free-wil to come and go when she list, ye wise man ought not to be sorry to lose hir, nor reloyce to hold hir."²⁷

Hircius, in The Virgin Martyr, who is not a "wise man" in any acceptation of the term, is one who cannot accept Fortune magnanimously. Of Angelo he demands: "How now Angelo how ist? how ist? what thred spins that whore Fortune vpon her wheel now" (II, iii, 195-6).²⁸ The mixed metaphor by which he apprehends Fortune is not merely a matter of ignorance; it represents a confusion of pagan and Christian perceptions. Fortune's "wheel" was not a spinning wheel; the "thred" to which Hircius refers is the one spun out by the Greek Fates. By identifying Fortune with Fate, Hircius is blinded to the instrumental good that Providence intends by Fortune. He fails to apprehend the Christian rationalization of Fortune. This faulty perception commits Hircius (and his cohorts in The Virgin Martyr) to a fatalistic world in which the comings-and-goings of Fortune cannot but have wretched consequences. The antithesis of this perception is Dorothea, whose "soothfastnesse" is assured.

In The Tragedy of Nero, Fortune is "The Queene of kingdomes/ That warres grim valour graceth with her deeds."²⁹ Similarly, in The Virgin Martyr, Fortune is the Goddess of the Conqueror of Kings.

Dioclesian apostrophizes Fortune:

Queene of fate,
Imperious Fortune mixe some light disaster
With my so many ioys to season em,
And giue them sweeter rellish, I am girt round
With true felicity . . . (I, i, 267-71).³⁰

This speech is ironic, especially when it is recalled that the defeated king of Pontus had declared to the Emperor shortly before:

We stand
The last examples to proue how vncertaine
All humane happinesse is . . . (I, i, 218-20)

and the conquered Macedon had said:

That spoake which now is highest
In Fortunes wheele, must when she turns it next
Decline as low as we are (I, i, 221-3).

Dioclesian's "true felicity" is subverted by the context in which he regards it. Fortune is deified throughout the play by the pagan antagonists: she is Dioclesian's "sacred fortune" (I, i, 165); Dorothea is asked to do idolatrous homage to Fortune:

Bow but thy Knee to Iupiter and offer
Any slight sacrifice, or doe but sweare
By Caesars fortune, and be free
(IV, ii, 69-71).³¹

In The Tragedie of Nero, the play's answer to the power and fortune that cause Nero's tragedy is this: "Thus great bad men above them find a rod:/People depart, and say there is a God."³² Dorothea represents this position in The Virgin Martyr, overcoming with faith, the conqueror of the world. Francis Rous tells us: "The Naturall Man conquering the World is himselfe conquered of his affections; and the Christian conquers that which conquers the Conquerors of the World."³³ Dorothea's reconversion of Caliste and Christeta is described in the same Christian paradox:

Caliste. We are caught ourselves
That came to take you, and assur'd of conquest
We are your Captiues.

Dor. And in that you triumph,
Your victory had beene eternall losse,
And this your losse immortal gaine
(III, i, 199-203).³⁴

The tragedy is not Dorothea's; it is perhaps Dioclesian's (if he in fact

is, as Louise Clubb suggests, a "magnanimous" figure): his every victory is "eternall losse"; his final resolution is a perpetuation of evil.

As Dioclesian is made "glorious" by Fortune, Antoninus at the beginning of The Virgin Martyr is made wretched by his fortune. Ironically, it is good fortune that threatens him; the daughter of the Emperor is in love with him:

Oh I am lost, for euer lost Macrinus,
The anchor of the wretched, hope forsakes me,
And with one blast of fortune all my light
Of happinesse is put out (I, i, 410-3).

Nevertheless, he persists in his commitment to aventure by appealing in the name of fortune to Dorothea:

Could not my fortunes
(Rear'd higher farre then yours) be worthy of you,
Me thinkes my dear affection makes you mine
(II, iii, 81-3).

Recalling Rous's statement, it is perhaps little wonder that Antoninus' appeal to his "affection" impresses Dorothea no more than his appeal to his fortunes. Shortly thereafter, the interruption by Artemia of their confrontation crystallizes the antithesis of temporal chance and eternal steadfastness into which the whole play is divided. Artemia appears:

Anton. O I am thunder-strucke! Wee are both ore whelm'd.

Macr. With one high raging billow.

Dor. You a souldier,
And sinke beneath the violence of a woman?

Anton. A woman! a wrongd princesse: from such a starre
Blazing with fires of hate, what can be look'd for
But tragicall euent? my life is now
The subiect of her tyranny.

Dor. That feare, is base,
Of death; when that death doth but life displace

Out of her house of earth; you onely dread
 The stroke, and not what followes when you are dead,
 There's the great feare indeed: come, let your eyes
 Dwell where mine doe, youle scorne their tyrannies
 (II, iii, 121-33).³⁵

Antoninus, having run into a conflict between inconstant Fortune and unruly affections, is impaled upon the horns of a dilemma. He is now fearful of that revenge to which his perception of value has rendered him susceptible: of Artemia he declares that "In her lookes/ Reuenge is written" (I, i, 376-7). Revenge is another alternative that presents itself to Copley's "Elizian" in A Fig for Fortune:

I am Reuenge, the doom of iniuries:
 The Misers refuge, and reuiue to blesse
 Occasions Argus, pith of Tragedies . . .³⁶

"Revenge" counsels the desperate outcast to seek vengeance upon those who have brought him down:

Rise from thy ruines to a higher merit:
 Degraded from a puppit Commicke-stage
 To act the statelie Tragick personage.³⁷

Revenge, like fortune, is the occasion of tragedy. The world of Diocletian and his minions in The Virgin Martyr is the realm of wars, tyranny, lusts, persecutions--all part of the "tragicke shape of Horror and Revenge."³⁸ If tragedy does occur in the play, it is in this world, and not that of Dorothea, who says to Caliste and Christeta:

Be confirm'd then
 And rest assur'd, the more you suffer heere,
 The more your glory, you to heauen more deere
 (III, i, 211-3).

Louise George Clubb suggests: "It is Theophilus who most nearly resembles a protagonist of classical tragedy."³⁹ Certainly Theophilus is ruled by a zeal for revenge: he regards the persecution of the Christians as a personal vendetta; the exercise of his wrath

upon his reconverted daughters is instantaneous and remorseless. However, as Miss Clubb remarks, "His downfall is his triumph--and Dorothea's."⁴⁰ The mortal catastrophe that we associate with classical tragic heroes becomes again an immortal gain: Theophilus' "tragedy" is consummated in joy. Formally, he may be said to follow a tragic pattern; however, he is not tragic.

The world of evil, the world in which tragedy can be perpetuated, is the world of Dioclesian. As the writers of de casibus tragedies remorselessly remind us, the preoccupation with temporal conquest carries with it the inevitability of worldly defeat and death. In the case of Dioclesian the loss is rendered more acute: his commitment is presented in contrast with the redemption that he is missing.

Lawrence Humphrey provides an emphatic precedent for the identification of the persecutor with the de casibus figure: "O that these worldly men ["persecutors tēporal or ecclesiastical"] persecuting and seeking after blood would consider that which is written in Herodotus: Thou haste thirsted after bloode, and now thou shalt drinke thy belly ful of blood."⁴¹ Thus, The Tragedy of Nero is the story of Nero's ultimate calamity. Similarly, Heinrich Bullinger would consider Diocletian "tragic" because of his tyranny. One of Bullinger's Tragedies of Tyrants is "the greevous woful and long tragicall Acte or persecution, being in number the 15, under the Emperours Dioclesian [sic] and Maximian, wherein innumerable Christians were martyred and slayne."⁴²

Where Boccaccio "uses the word tragedy in the sense of a narrative with a sad ending,"⁴³ the Renaissance Christian tradition

assimilated tragedies as moral lessons. John Reynolds' introduction to The Triumphs of Gods Revenge explains ". . . therefore I thought it a work as worthy of my labour (as that labour of a Christian) to collect thirty several Tragicall Histories . . . that obseruing and seeing herein, as in a christall myrrour, the variety of the diuels temptations and the allurements of sinne wherewith these weake Christians (the Authors and Actors hereof) suffered themselves to be carried away and seduced . . .," that other half-hearted Christians might thereby be instructed.⁴⁴ Humphrey speaks of "tragicall stories" as "instructions and examples for subjects;"⁴⁵ Richard Robinson tells the story of Medea and comments: "This historie is merueylous tragicall, and a good example for Women."⁴⁶

What is remarkable about these catalogues of stories, however, is that their subjects are not "heroes" but are rather identified with evil. Robinson's book, for example, is entitled: The rewarde of Wickednesse. Discoursing the sundrye monstrous abuses of wicked and ungodly worldelinges: in such sort set down and written as the same have beene dyversely practised in the persones of Popes, Harlots, Proud Princes, Tyraunts, Romish Byshoppes, and others. The pity felt for the noble sufferer "bearing what cannot be borne" as Oedipus does, is replaced in the religious perception of tragedy by the drawing of moral lessons, and the scornful repudiation of evil. Thus, Lawrence Humphrey calls both Cain and Judas tragic: "I wil not referre you againe to the terrible examples of Cain saying: Whoseuer findeth me, wil kil me: nor to the tragical end of Iudas."⁴⁷ Richard Robinson's Alexander VI is tragic not because he strove manfully, but because the

devil with whom he had regular commerce ultimately failed him.⁴⁸

Similarly, Bullinger sees the devil as the source of tragedy: "The things which first incensed the Saracens and Turkes, to commit these furious cruell tyrannicall Tragedies, these warres, & persecutions, was cheifly [sic] the Divel himselve. . . ."⁴⁹

Dekker himself relegates tragedy to an infernal realm. In his Dreame he compares mortal misery--"Vengeance, Horror, Incest, Rape,/ Famine and Death"--with eternal suffering:

These transitory, poore Terrestriall terrors,
Seru'd but as Heralds to sound forth the Horrors
Of woes Eternall; this, was but a Sceane
To the Great Following Tragedy.⁵⁰

In the same work, he describes crowds struggling to gain entrance to Hell as they would to see "some direfull Tragedy (before/Not Acted)."⁵¹ Tragedy in this view is not an affirmation of human values, but a warning to and a definition of those who acquiesce in evil.

In The Virgin Martyr, the minion of evil, Harpax, breathes enticingly into the ears of all the antagonists: Theophilus, Dioclesian, Hircius, and Spungius. His namesakes, the "harpyes," were "monstrous byrdes, having maydens visages, and talons of a marvellous capacitie. Wherefore men that be ravenous and great gatherers of goodes, bee named sometime Harpyie."⁵² As Anthony Copley tells us, "Death is the latter Harpie of all glory." It is small wonder, therefore, that Harpax sinks his claws into Hircius and Spungius with an appeal to that other personage of tragedy, Fortune: "Drones, Asses, blinded Moles, that dare not thrust/Your armes out to catch Fortune" (IV, ii, 28-30). This is the same tone as that with which Sapritius upbraids the recalcitrant Antoninus: "Welcome, foole, thy fortune,/Stand like a blocke when such

an Angell courts thee" (I, i, 320-1). For both Antoninus and the two reprobates the choice offered is one of life and death. Antoninus does not choose, but is graciously saved by Dorothea; Hircius and Spungius adhere to the devil, who forsakes them. They die in wretched degradation. The descent of Harpax to hell is the play's answer to tragedy, an answer epitomized in Dorothea.

George Puttenham, discussing the origins of drama in his The Arte of English Poesie (1589) views tragedy in a similarly moralistic light. He says: ". . . the Poets or holy Priests [of the ancients], chiefly studied the rebuke of vice, and to carp at the common abuses, such as were most offensive to the public and private [sic]." ⁵³ For this purpose, they used "three kinds of poems reprehensive, to wit, the Satyre, the Comedie, and the Tragedie." Of the tragic poets, he says: "Besides those poets Comick there were other who served also the stage, but meddled not with so base matters: for they set forth the doleful falls of infortunate and afflicted Princes, & were called Poets tragicall." ⁵⁴ However, the burden of these tragedies was not the nobility of the princes, but their degradation:

. . . after their deaths when the posterity stood no more in dread of them, their infamous life and tyrannies were layd open to all the world, their wickedness reproched [sic], their follies and insolencies derided, and their miserable ends painted out in playes and pageants, to shew the mutabilitie of fortune, and the iust punishment of God in revenge of a vicious and evill life. ⁵⁵

In so far as this description is definitive--and it does seem to represent a widespread attitude--it subverts the whole idea of noble suffering in tragedy. In a play like The Virgin Martyr, in which the conflict between mortality and immortality is so explicitly delineated, it shifts the possibility of tragedy to the realms of the cruel and

imperious Dioclesian, the carnal and cunning Hircius and Spungius, and the howling and hell-bound Harpax.

As we have seen, Ward cites "the grandeur of conception" of The Virgin Martyr as an indication of Massinger and Dekker's ambition to "rise above" the themes of revenge and war which formed the basis for so much of English Renaissance tragedy. This view, as several critics have emphatically declared, seems irreconcilable with the insistent and "degrading" presence of Hircius and Spungius. Moreover, the very extent of their presence makes them more than "comic relief" and interferes with both the manner and matter of tragedy. "First," declaims Sir John Harington, "The Tragical is meerly free from ["any scurrilitie and lewdnesse"], as representing onely the cruell and lawlesse proceedings of Princes, moving nothing but pitie or detestation."⁵⁶ Our pity and detestation are reserved for the antagonists in The Virgin Martyr.

Traditionally, tragedy was characterized by the inclusion of great personages, by danger of great magnitude, by catastrophe and death. In The Virgin Martyr, the great personages are rendered feeble, the danger is transcended, and death becomes glorious redemption for some or pathetic (but not magnificent) futility to others, in particular, Hircius and Spungius. Puttenham says the tragic poet's style was "higher and more loftie;"⁵⁷ Polydore Virgil had also referred to the "eloquence" of tragic style.⁵⁸ In The Virgin Martyr the gravity, the "heigh sentence" is reserved for the characters whom we have seen to be truly "comic"; the violence and degradation and confusion is left to the victims who still are bound to tragedy's mortal realm.

In the "Prologus" to The Roaring Girl (1611), Dekker writes:

"Tragick passion,/And such graue stuffe, is this day out of fashion."

Ironically, this is an apt explanation of the "tragedy" of The Virgin Martyr. The Christian framework of the play denies that the deaths of the protagonists--Dorothea, Antoninus, Theophilus, Caliste and Christeta--can be tragic. By contrast with the grave comedy of these protagonists, the realm in which tragedy was traditionally possible is degraded, rendered contemptible. The tragedy is, perhaps, that it remains at all.

The Virgin Martyr is therefore a play of structural generic complementation. The tragic world is set up in opposition to the world of Christian comedy. To the extent that "Christian tragedy" is a contradiction in terms, however, tragedy as applied to The Virgin Martyr assumes a colored meaning: in the paradox posed by Christian content in a tragedy, the Christian lesson takes precedence. The Virgin Martyr is therefore a subversive play. "Christian tragedy" does not pose the only ambiguity, however. As we have seen, the authorship of the play and its theological relevance also ask questions. The generic source of The Virgin Martyr suggests a Roman Catholic bias that is supported by Massinger's postulated Catholicism; Dekker's apparent Protestantism effectually demands a qualification of this view. To answer the ambiguity let us proceed to an examination of what is specifically "Christian" and, more particularly, what is specifically "tragic" in the play.

CHAPTER THREE

THE IMAGE OF THE PERSECUTING CHURCH: "A MAPPE OF ROME"

George Puttenham decrees that the setting of tragedy should be "magnificent."¹ In The Virgin Martyr, although the action takes place in Caesarea, Cappadocia, the magnificence is supplied by imperial Rome, personified in the emperor, Dioclesian. As we have seen, Lawrence Humphrey identifies the tragic figure of lofty nobility with the tragic figure of depraved--or, as Humphrey terms it, temporal--magnificence, the persecutors and seekers of blood. Thus, for example, "The Bishop of Rome, although he passe all mortal men in dignity and authority, and can bind, and lose all things in earth: yet can he not loose himself out of the bonds of fatal necessity."² Where God ultimately dispenses rewards and punishments, the end of "magnificence" is likely to be "tragic."

Pride, that is to say, cometh before a fall. Of pride, Humphrey elsewhere relates: "I reade of the Romanes that they painted pride with a triple crowne Pope-like, because, as R. Holcot testifieth, the proud man will ever rule all his equals, his inferiours, his superiours."³ In The Virgin Martyr, the conqueror of the world is, as we have seen, Dioclesian: Rome is "The glorious mistresse of the conquered world" (I, i, 119-25); "all Kingdomes fall before [Rome]" and "all Kings/ Contend to honour Cesar" (I, i, 264-5). Significantly, however, the Empress of Babylon in a play dealing not with Imperial Rome, but with

the Rome of the Papacy, speaks in the same vein of her dominions:

That we, in pompe, in peace, in god-like splendor,
 With adoration of all dazeled eies,
 Should breath thus long, and grow so full of daies,
 Be fruitfull as the Vine, in sonnes and daughters,
 (All Emperors, Kings, and Queenes) that (like to Cedars
 Vprising from the breast of Lybanus,
 Or Oliues nurst vp by Ierusalem)
 Heightened our glories, whilst we held vp them:
 That this vast Globe Terrestriall should be cantled,
 And almost three parts ours . . . (I, i, 1-10).

The pride that she evinces is, as Humphrey's comparison suggests, like that of the Emperors of Rome. The Empress's "bawd," the Pope of Rome, appeared to a number of Protestant polemicists to be, like Dioclesian, the ruler of kings. John Rawlinson, for example, complains that ". . . the Pope thinkes he hath never Rome enough, till he have thrust all Christian kings that will not stoope to his lure^[4] out of their thrones, kingdomes, liues and all";⁵ Humphrey declares of the Pope that "He will be not onely a Bishop of Bishops, but a king, nay a Conqueror of kings: He hath in his hand the wheel of fortune to make kings go vp, and go downe, according to his pleasure. . . ."⁶ The Pope used spiritual authority to acquire a temporal empire.

In The Virgin Martyr, Dioclesian similarly attributes his power to religion. It is "The ancient Roman discipline" that "raysde Roome to her greatnes, and proclaimed her/The glorious mistresse of the conquerd world" (I, i, 24-5); it is "those gods" that make him what he is (I, i, 144-5). He is "Sacred Caesar"; his "power vpon this globe of earth, is equall/to Ioues in heaven" (I, i, 133-4). Considering that Jove's power is later discovered to be utterly ephemeral ("Alacke poore Ioue," says Dorothea, "He is no Swaggerer, how smug he stands/ Heele take a kick, or any thing"--III, ii, 73-5), this comparison is an

ironic comment upon the inefficacy of the temporal power that Dioclesian personifies. Like the Empress in The Whore of Bablylon, he sits "in god-like splendour"; like the Pope, who is characterized contemptuously by the author of The Abuses of the Romish Church as a "Demy-God,"⁷ his power is "conferd" upon him by "heaven" (I, i, 202-3). Had Dioclesian read If This Be Not A Good Play, he might have responded to this estimation of him as the king does to the flattering "hel-hound," Bohor, in that play: "Pray mock not me with such Idolatry,/Kings, Gods are, (I confesse) but Gods of clay . . ." (I, ii, 19-20).⁸ The Pope of Rome, similarly, was thought by many Protestants to be the object of vain idolatry.

The point is that, in The Virgin Martyr, the word "Rome" might be expected to have had for a Jacobean theatre audience an equivocal connotation. Certainly it seems to have been commonplace for the denigrators of Roman Catholicism to compare the imperialism of the Rome of the Papacy with that of ancient Rome. Certainly the "Papists" were often regarded as the persecutors of "true religion." In a country kept in more or less constant remembrance of the threat of "the Romish hydra and monster, treason" and of "the machinations of Rome," such allusions as "We are familiar with what cruelty/Roome since her infant greatnesse, euer vsde" (I, i, 228-9), and "But this latter/Shall teach vs to liue euer faithfull Vassals/To Dioclesian and the power of Rome" (I, i, 261-3) might be expected to carry at least potential ambiguity implying contemporary relevance.

For example, imperial Rome was, like papal Rome, infamous for her cruelty. This only reinforced the readiness with which Protestant

detractors appear to have seized upon the ready-made pun in the word "Rome." Thomas Taylor, in A Mappe of Rome asks with rhetorical earnestness: "What shall I speake of the tyranny and cruelty of those Heathen Romany Emperours, within the first 300 yeeres after Christ?"⁹ He answers by shifting his point of reference: "This very spirit of cruelty is the spirit of Antichrist which raigneth in Popery at this day. . . ." ¹⁰ John King, commemorating the Powder Plot, said of the Rome of the Papacy in 1608: "Cruelty is the ensigne and badge of that church."¹¹ Thus, the cruelty of Rome in The Virgin Martyr is susceptible of interpretation in light of the perception of the cruelty of latter-day Rome. It is a perception which was apparently shared by Dekker, whose Empress of Babylon instructs her royal henchmen:

Goe: cut the salt fome with your mooned keeles [the Armada]
 And let our Galeons feele euen child-birth panges,
 Till their great bellies be deliuered
 On the soft Faiery shoares: captiue their Queene,
 That we may thus take off her crowne, whilst she
 Kneeles to these glorious wonders, or be trampled
 To death for her contempt: burne, batter, kill,
 Blow vp, pull downe, ruine all, let not white haire,
 Nor red cheekes blunt your wrath, snatch babes from breasts,
 And when they crie for milke, let them suck bloud,
 Turne all their fieldes to lakes of gellyed goare,
 That Sea-men one day sayling by the land
 May say, there Faiery kingdome once did stand (IV, iv, 114-26).

This is the same jargon as that with which Theophilus congratulates himself in The Virgin Martyr:

<u>Theoph.</u>	O my <u>Harpax</u> . Thou engine of my wishes, thou that steeldst My bloody resolutions, thou that armst My eyes gainst womanish teares and soft compassion, Instructing me without a sigh to looke on Babes torne by violence from their mothers breasts To feed the fire, and with them make one flame: [12] Old men as beasts, in beasts skin torne by dogs: Virgins and matrons tire the executioners, Yet I vnsatisfied thinke their torments easie [13]
----------------	--

Harpax. And in that iust, not cruell. (I, i, 56-66).

It was common in Elizabethan England to find the Pope likened to tyrants, especially to the Roman emperors who perpetrated persecutions. John Bale compares the Pope to Antiochus, Caiphas, Nero, Domitian and Trajan;¹⁴ John King bids former tyrants give place to the Pope: "Let the name of Nero with the rest, rest in peace and bee buried in silence, and in steed of Syllan, Marian, Scythian, Tartarian, Barbarian, Turkish, Spanish, Let Romish, Popish, Antichristian, Catholique, Catacatholique cruelty be a proverbe, astonishment, hissing for all nations and ages to come."¹⁵ Similar comparisons are drawn in Thomas Taylor's A mappe of Rome, Lawrence Humphrey's A View of the Romish Hydra, and Heinrich Bullinger's The Tragedies of Tyrants. As the personification of "Antichrist," the Pope was regarded as the direct descendent of all the historical enemies of God.

Among the persecutors invoked for this defaming comparison with the Rome of the Papacy was Diocletian. Andrew Kingsmill calls Diocletian "an infernal serpent";¹⁶ Humphrey says that the cruelties exercised by Diocletian do not equal those of the Pope of Rome.¹⁷ More explicitly, Richard Reynolds states:

Dioclesian in pride puffed, commaũded himsele to be called a God, and sometime brother to the Sonne and the Moone, by comaũdmet he was kissed as many Popes have since those dayes compelled kings to kisse their feete, they passe to be brothers to ye Soone and Moone . . . wherein they shewe themselves not followers of the Apostles, but rather successours of Dioclesian and Domitian in pride and tyranny.¹⁸

Thus, Diocletian, as a "tragic tyrant," was popularly likened to those latter-day tyrants, the Bishops of Rome. The extent to which the parallel vision of a Jacobean audience might identify any persecuting power with Papal Rome is open to discussion.

While polemicists were accustomed to qualify their references to the Rome of the Papacy by contextual variations--"Romish," "Court of Rome," "Pope of Rome"--it was not unusual for them to expect the simple word "Rome" to be apprehended to mean "Rome of the Papacy." For example, Richard James in a sermon that is bitterly anti-Catholic assumes this connotation: "The supremacie of Rome over all Princes and Nations, besides the Turke and Tartar, who will one day bring home to her dores the iust vengeance of that strumpets rebellion."¹⁹ Elsewhere, a Protestant writer complains of the Pope that "He saith Rome is the place which God hath chosen: Rome I say that hath been in [*sic*] horror and execration to all the world, since the Popes have usurped this tyranny over the bodies and soules of men."²⁰

Thomas Dekker himself uses the word "Rome" to refer to the Rome of the Papacy. In A Papist in Arms (an explicit attack on "Romanism," evoked by the Gunpowder Conspiracy) he speaks of "Romes usurping ignorance,"²¹ "Romaine [as opposed to "Romish"] Bandes,"²² and complains that the Jesuits ". . . of such wydnes would build Rome,/That it should hold, all Christendome."²³ In If This Be Not a Good Play, the Catholic assassin, "Ravillac," describes himself as "so braue a Roman spirit" (V, iv, 142); similarly, Theophilus in The Virgin Martyr is "So great a Roman spirit" (V, i, 47). Dekker quite obviously was familiar with the implications of the word "Rome" in the Protestant polemical tradition. In a play concerned explicitly with "religious causes," it is hardly conceivable that these possibilities should not have presented themselves to him.

According to H.D. Sykes, "all that is distinctively 'Roman' in the play" is the work of Massinger.²⁴ In view of the fact that The Virgin Martyr has been cited as evidence of Massinger's Catholicism, "Roman" might perhaps be read "Romish." The "Roman Catholicism" of some passages in the play has been discussed. However, far from being the position defended in the play, the Roman context is supplied by the antagonists. The extent to which that position may be interpreted as "Romish" is yet to be seen.

Hermes, in A Tragedie Called Freewyl (in which the title character, Freewyl, is a "Christian Papist") complains of the church of the Papacy that "the most reuerend maister Cleargie shoulde have the uery toppe of that singular aucthoritie, honour, and other imperiall dignities, with whiche the Senate, the Consuls, the Patricii, and all the captaynes of the Roman Empire were honoured and commended. . . ." ²⁵

In The Virgin Martyr, the emphasis of ceremonial exercises might visually suggest "Romish" practice. A stage direction at I, i, describes the entrance of Dioclesian with the three captive kings: he is greeted by Sapritius, who "kisses the Emperors hand." We have seen that Richard Reynolds complains of both the Pope and Diocletian that they require such obeisances as kissings. Another stage direction has: "Enter priest with Image of Iupiter, Incense and Censors, followed by Caliste and Christeta, leading Dorothea (III, ii). Dorothea declares defiantly: "I will not offer/A graine of Incense to it, much less kneele" (III, ii, 86-7). Incense was used "copiously" in pagan cults, and according to the New Catholic Encyclopedia, "Christians were frequently required to offer incense before an image of the emperor or a god as a test of

loyalty."²⁶ Thus, incense became associated with paganism; Christians discontinued its use among themselves. However, the use of incense was resumed in the Christian church: "In the West, incense was first used by carrying it before the pope . . . for the pope was considered on a par with civil rulers who were so honored."²⁷ This temporal dominion of the Pope is what Protestants like Francis Bunny in A Comparison betweene the auncient fayth of the Romans and the new Romish Religion (1595) deplored as unworthy of a spiritual religion. It is suggestive to speculate what would be the effect of the physical presence of incense, identifiable as it was with Roman Catholicism, upon the perceptions of the theatre audience.

Nor will Dorothea "kneele" to the image of Jupiter. Bunny complains that the "Papists" not only "censed" to images, but also "kneeled." The idolatry that Dorothea refuses to accede to herself she despises in Antoninus, who "worships" her:

Anton. Your mockes are great ones, none beneath the Sun
Will I be seruant too: on my knees I beg it,
Pitty me wondrous maid.

.

Dor. O kneele not Sir to me
(II, iii, 92-5).

The idolatrous regard in which Antoninus holds Dorothea is more specifically delineated in his speech to Macrinus:

Goe then Macrinus
To Dorothea, tell her I haue worne,
In all the battailes I haue fought her figure,
Her figure in my heart, which like a diety
Hath still protected me . . . (I, i, 460-4).²⁸

This idolatry is indicative of Antoninus' spiritual blindness; it is this that heavenly love ultimately transforms. Dorothea's figure or

image, "like a deity" is like the icons that Catholics used as symbols. According to William Perkins, however, "to serve God in an Image, is a work of the flesh, and altogether agreeth to the vile corruption of nature."²⁹ Thus, in his idolatry, even the Sun to Antoninus is "Cymerian darknesse" (IV, iii, 12). Richard James uses the same image to describe the Church of Rome: ". . . with these propositions I desire not to move laughter, but both in my selfe and you a sad disdaine of the most foolish Cimmerian darkenesse, which the Roman Tyranny had drawne over our senses, our reason, our judgements, and all the intellectual faculties of the soule. . . ." ³⁰

Thus, when Louise Clubb, arguing for the topicality or contemporary relevance of The Virgin Martyr, says that the subject of the play would have reminded a Jacobean audience of "popish idolatry," she is simply mistaken. The Virgin Martyr is an explicit renunciation of idolatry. Miss Clubb suggests that Catholics might have been heartened to see a play reminiscent of their persecution by the Protestants: the persecuting church in The Virgin Martyr is ostensibly pagan, or it may be Catholic, but it has nothing to identify it as Protestant. As Heinrich Bullinger declares of the early Christians, in appealing to them as prototypes of Protestants: "for at theyr time [Diocletian's rule] there was not that Papacie which afterward ensued: there were then no Images in churches, there was no sacrifice of Mas, no invocatiõ of Saints. . . ." ³² The Rome of the Papacy was the only contemporary church that paralleled, in ceremony and splendour, the pomp of Rome in The Virgin Martyr.

Among the "ceremonious exercises" of the Romans in The Virgin Martyr are several examples of "sacrifice," both as a dramatic ritual, and as a figurative expression. The idolatrous Antoninus, having failed to win Dorothea with either his fortune or his affections, does sacrifice to her:

. . . beare these iewels
Sent in the way of sacrifice, not seruice,
As to my goddesse (I, i, 467-9),

he instructs Macrinus. Caliste and Christeta "are familiar with the sacrifice" due to Jupiter (III, ii, 51); Theophilus, having murdered his daughters, asks the gods to consider the crime a sacrifice:

Look downe with fauourable beams vpon
 The Sacrifice (though not allow'd thy Priest)

 Before this holy altar . . . (III, ii, 106-12).

Certainly, "sacrifice" may be explained as a purely pagan exercise.

However, the word does have unmistakable reference to the Catholic doctrines both of the Mass and of the Eucharist.

Sapritius, in The Virgin Martyr, expresses his "fell hate"

Against the Christian sect, that with one blow,
Ascribing all things to an vnknowne power,
Would strike down all [the Roman gods'] temples,
 and allows them
Nor sacrifice nor altars (I, i, 145-50).

"Sacrifice" and "altar" were contentious words at the time of the Protestant Reformation: ". . . at stake was the relationship between the Mass and the death of Christ on Calvary, the Protestants insisting that Calvary was the all-sufficient and unique sacrifice that rendered further sacrificial acts useless, the Catholics insisting that the Mass was the same sacrifice of Calvary."³³ At stake was, in fact, a central concern of the Reformation: the sacramental versus the sacrificial vision.

John Foxe notes of Mary Tudor's Catholic reign that "many men were forward in erecting altars and masses in churches."³⁴ These "masses" were sacrificial, as two of Queen Elizabeth's religious injunctions at her accession (1559) indicate:

Secondly, the form of an altar was convenient for the Old Testament, to be a figure of Christ's bloody sacrifice upon the cross: but in the time of the New Testament, Christ is not to be sacrificed, but his body and blood spiritually to be eaten and drunken in the ministration of the holy supper. For representation whereof the form of a table is more convenient than an altar.

.

Fifthly, furthermore, an altar hath relation to a sacrifice: for they be correlativa. So that of necessity, if we allow an altar, we must grant a sacrifice.³⁵

The actual appearance of the altar upon the stage would, like the smell of incense in the theatre, reinforce the imagery of the language. In 1639, for example, "The players of the Fortune were fined 1000 pounds for setting up on the stage an altar, basin and two candlesticks, and bowing down to them. The actors alleged that it was an old play revived, and that the ceremonies were those of a pagan religion."³⁶ Quite obviously, the altar, candlesticks, and basin were to the players emblematic of Roman Catholic ceremony.

Of the approximately nine times that "sacrifice" is alluded to in The Virgin Martyr, seven of these appear in scenes attributed to Massinger. This may be accounted for merely by the demands of a play whose antagonists are Roman pagans. Or, it may be a manifestation of Massinger's failure to avoid words that smack of "Papisty."³⁷ However, the use of "sacrifice" is not evidently sectarian, except that it is applied only to the play's antagonists. Dorothea upbraids Caliste and Christeta by deprecating the powers they worship:

Which of your powerfull gods,
 Your gold, your siluer, brasse, or wooden ones?
 That can, nor do me hurt, nor protect you.
 Most pittied women, will you sacrifice
 To such, or call them gods or goddesses
 (III, i, 116-20).

This is imbedded in a paraphrase of Baruch vi which seems to have been a favorite with Protestants in attacking the Catholic Church: Lady Jane Grey, chastizing an "apostate" Protestant, says: "Did he not forewarn them that in Babylon they should see gods of gold, silver, wood, and stone borne upon men's shoulder's, to cast fear before the heathens?"³⁸ Dekker, in a work whose subtitle (Canaan's Calamitie, Jerusalem's Miserie, and England's Mirror) suggests a parallel of the classical and the contemporary, notes that the "Roman" soldiers sacking "Jerusalem"

. . . set vp, their heathen idols all,
 Their sencelesse Images of wood and stone,
 And at their feet, all prostrate did they fall,
 There offering sacrifice to them alone.³⁹

He apparently refers to the same passage in Scripture when in The Whore of Babylon he has a "Cardinall" complain that his congregation is excoriated as idolatrous "Because we bore/Our gods upon our backes" (I, i, 77-8) and in The Virgin Martyr when Theophilus recalls:

. . . Iupiter,
 For all my sacrifices done to him
 Neuer once gave me smile: how can stone smile,
 Or wooden Image laugh . . . ? (V, i, 109-12)

Dekker was without doubt aware of the special contemporary significance of the word "sacrifice," for he had used it previously in The Whore of Babylon. There, Paridel (the Catholic conspirator, William Parry) tells his intended victim, Titania (the Protestant Elizabeth):

Had not your bright eyes
 Turnd backe vpon me, I had long ere this
 Layen at your feete a bloudie sacrifice
 (V, ii, 88-90).

Titania, herself the "bloudie sacrifice," answers, repudiating "paganism":

Staind Altars please not vs: why doest thou weepe?
 Thou makst my good thought of thee now declyne,
 Who loues not his owne bloud, will ne're spare mine,
 Why doest thou weepe? (V, ii, 91-4).

Paridel had already promised to assassinate Titania:

In Saint Iagoes parke; a rare, rare Altar!
 The fitt'st to sacrificize her bloud vpon
 It shall be there: in Saint Iagoes parke
 (V, i, 59-61).

The Christian sect in The Virgin Martyr that is tearing down Roman altars and preventing sacrifices is not likely to have been apprehended as a Catholic one.

We have seen that Massinger's indiscriminate reference to Dorothea's "pious deedes" and "blessed actions" has brought some critics to the conclusion that she is a specifically Roman Catholic martyr. But we have also seen the Protestant explanation of good works in the statement of Lady Jane Grey: "I deny [that good works are necessary to salvation] , and affirm that faith only saveth: but it is meet for a christian, in token that he followeth his master Christ, to do good works; yet may we not say that they profit to our salvation."⁴⁰ The doctrine of merits was a Catholic one,⁴¹ of which William Tyndale concludes: "whatsoever good thing is in us, that is given us freely without our deserving or merits for Christ's blood's sake."⁴² Francis Bunny complains of the doctrine: "But the new Romish Religion is this, that good works do merite justification and eternall life, so that by their good works they say they can satisfie for their sinnes."⁴³

In The Virgin Martyr, the doctrine of merits also appears, consistently advanced by the antagonists. Unlike the reputed cruelty of

the Papacy, or the "pagan" practice of sacrifice, for example, the doctrine of good works does not have a parallel in the Roman religion: it is more distinctively "Romish." Dioclesian promises to "recompense" the "merits" of Sapritius (I, i, 130-1); Sapritius counsels Theophilus' daughters to "Prosper in your good worke" (III, i, 33). Caliste and Christeta worship the "good deedes" of the Roman gods "in their Images" (III, ii, 161-2); Harpax says of the re-fallen daughters that "They merit death" (III, ii, 99). Again, these references to "merits" appear in scenes attributed to Massinger; perhaps he used them unconsciously, as part of his vocabulary. They are, however, much to the purpose of the Protestant Dekker, who is more circumspect in their use. In The Whore of Babylon, the doctrine of merits is consistently invoked by the Catholic faction: Ropes (Lopez) declares: "What physicke can, I dare, onely to grow/(But as I merit shall) vp in your eye" (III, i, 176-7): Ragazzoni "vndertakes an action full of merit" (III, ii, 37); Paridel's projected crime is "Good, honourable, meritorious" (V, i, 10). For their merit, the conspirators are offered a system of rewards, including canonization.

Given the likelihood that the paraphernalia and language of The Virgin Martyr could cause a confusion of imperial Rome with the Rome of the Papacy, a number of passages in the play take on additional significance. Dioclesian, for example, refers to "the ancient Roman discipline reuiu'd" (I, i, 123). The character "Perverse Doctrine" in the Calvinist play New Custom (1573) complains of "Light of the Gospel":

For since these new heretics, the devil take them all
In all corners began to bark and to bawl.
At the Catholic faith and the old religion;⁴⁴

John Strype tells us of "the Roman religion" that "Early interest was made with Elizabeth for the continuance of the old religion. For, when the papalins saw their power was unequal to put her by from reigning after her sister, they laboured to persuade her to let religion remain as she found it."⁴⁵ The point is that the Roman Catholic Church, the "old religion," retailed the accusation that the Reformed religion was the "New Custom." In The Virgin Martyr, Christianity is referred to as "this new-found religion" (I, i, 31) and "this new-sprung sect" (I, i, 50). At the time of Diocletian, Christianity was almost three centuries old--hardly "new-sprung." Thus, if the play does in fact have reference to the Rome of the Papacy, it may be noted that the "old religion"--banished from England by Henry VIII--was indeed "revived" for a time during the reign of Mary Tudor. Significantly, Mary's reign was a time which Protestant polemicists made capital of as an example of "Romish" persecution.

Two devotees of the ancient Roman discipline, at least for a time, are Caliste and Christeta, who become:

. . . votaries in great Iupiters temple,
And by his Priest instructed, growne familiar
With all the Mysteries, nay the most abstruse ones
Belonging to his Deitie (I, i, 38-41).

Similarly, Antoninus is Cupid's "votary" (I, i, 319). While the word "votary" simply refers to a person consecrated by a vow or promise to a particular worship, it specifically connoted, at the time of the Reformation, a member of a Roman Catholic religious order. The "votary" in The Maid of Honour, Camilla, thwarted in love by her lover's vow of celibacy, herself becomes a nun. The "Mysteries" into which Caliste and Christeta are initiated were characteristic of pagan cult. However,

this too is an ambiguous word: "mystery" is a generic term for the Roman Catholic Mass and Liturgy, and the Eucharist. Of the "abstruseness" of Catholic eucharistic doctrine, as we shall see, Protestant reformers were wont vigorously to complain. If nothing else, such a passage is evidence of the potential confusion in terminology between pagan and Roman Catholic, but not Protestant, theology.

Similarly, Dorothea's relation of the parable of the king of Egypt is ambiguous. This king, "being to erect/The image of Osiris," which he set up "To be ador'd, and seru'd himselfe his Idoll," became disconsolate at the inefficacy of the image and melted it down to make a basin "in which Eunuches wash'd/His concubine's feete." When his fortunes again changed, he was reconciled to his god and reconverted the basin into an idol. The ramifications of this parable are suggestive. Thomas Vicars, likening the deliverance of England from the Gunpowder Plot to the delivery of the Israelites out of Egypt, tells us that "Rome is Egypt mystically";⁴⁶ Lawrence Humphrey warns his congregation of "the burdens of intolerable taskemasters under Romish Pharaos."⁴⁷ John Bale is characteristically less compromising and more colorful in his association of the Papacy with Egypt, and speaks of "The abominable hipocresye, Idolatry, pride, fylthynesse of those terrible termagauntes of anty christes howsholde, those ii horned whoremongers, those conivres of Egipt, and lecherous locustes leapinge out of the smoke of the pit bottomlesse. . . ."⁴⁸ This is, of course, merely Bale's prejudiced view of the matter. To the extent that the metaphor did have currency, however, it colors the implications of "Egypt." In Dorothea's parable, then, the king would be the Pope, the

Concubine the Scarlet Whore of Babylon, the "Eunuches" the celibate "Romish" priesthood, and Egyptian idolatry would refer to Catholic veneration of icons. Lady Jane Grey, upbraiding the Roman Catholic church for "idolatry," notes the abuse of the deckings of idols, "how priests took off their ornaments and apparalled their women withal."⁴⁹

We have already seen the effects of Antoninus' idolatrous love for Dorothea: he falls desperately ill. His father, Sapritius, implores physicians ("that are halfe gods") to save the languishing youth: "Your fee shall be a peece of Roman gold/With Caesar's stampe . . . (IV, i, 6-7). Antoninus' sickness, as the play reveals, is purely spiritual. The doctor's efforts are ineffectual, for their value is accounted by a worthless spiritual measure--the image of "Sacred Caesar." We know from John Bale that the value of the coins of the Christian emperor, Constantine, unlike those of Dioclesian, lay in the fact that his image ". . . in all his coynes of Golde and sylver was erected towards heaven," after "the uysage of his harte."⁵⁰ Lawrence Humphrey uses the same coinage imagery to deplore the reign of Mary Tudor: "For our gould, to receive brasse: For our silver, iron: and for this government of peace [Elizabeth's] , the tyranny of Exactours and Taskmasters."⁵¹ Dekker applies the image again in The Whore of Babylon, where the Empress says:

Our Image, which (like Roman Caesars) stamp'd
In gold, through the whole earth did current passe;
Is now blanch'd copper, or but gilded brasse
(I, i, 56-8).

Perhaps it is merely coincidental that both Dekker and Humphrey have utilized this metaphor to describe rulers, each of whose reigns saw the debasing of coinage.⁵²

However, the topicality of the image is unmistakable in the speeches of Hircius and Spungius: "Who," exclaims Spungius, "would think that we coming forth of the arse, as it were, or fag end of the world, should yet see the golden age, when so little silver is stirring" (II, iii, 205-7). Hircius answers Angelo's request for charity: "How! a peece of silver! if thou wert an Angell of gold I would not put thee into white money, vnlesse I weigh'd thee, and I weigh thee not a rush" (II, iii, 231-3). An "angel" (here used punningly) was an English coin: Angelo makes this clear when he refers, a few lines later, to the coins as "gilt-wing'd peeces" (III, iii, 89). Its use here is a significant anachronism that shifts the relevance of the coinage metaphor to contemporary England. Dekker, making use of the double-entendre implicit in the word "angel," elsewhere had similarly alluded to the consequences of overmuch love of gold. In The Diuels Answer to Pierce Pennylesse (1606), the usurer Sir Timothy discovered this to his chagrin: "But then cursing himself that euer he fell in love with mony, and that (which is contrary to nature) he euer made a crackt French Crowne, beget an English angell, he roarde out, & swore, that his gold would sure damb him."⁵³

When Caliste and Christeta come to "convert" Dorothea, they come "as good Angels." Although the Romans had the word "angelus," meaning "messenger," angels were not part of the Roman religion. Neither were saints. Dorothea suggests that if the two girls really wish to learn the nature of their deities, they should "reade but those/That have canoniz'd them" (III, i, 144-5). After his conversion, Theophilus compares St. Dorothea to a number of noble pagan women:

And Dorothea but hereafter nam'd,
 You will rise vp with reuerence, and no more
 As things vnworthy of your thoughts, remember
 What the canoniz'd Spartan Ladies were
 Which lying Greece so bosts of: your owne matrons,
 Your Romane dames whose figures you yet keepe
 As holy relickes in her historie
 Will find a second vrne. Gracchus Cornelia,
Paulina that in death desirde to follow
 Her husband Seneca, nor Brutus Portia
 That swallowd burning coles to ouertake him
 Though all their seuerall worths were giuen to one
 With this is to be mention'd (V, ii, 107-19).⁵⁴

The veneration of the "Romane dames" is related in theological terms descriptive of Roman Catholic saints: they are "canonized"; their figures or images (a reference to icons) are kept; their relickes (one polemicist calls Roman Catholics "Pedlers of Reliques"⁵⁵) are venerated. In a play whose title character is quite obviously a "saint" such references to comparative "saints" are significant comments upon the theme of sanctity. After the Reformation, comparative Catholic and Protestant martyrologies were much in vogue.

Even more suggestive is Dorothea's characterization of Jupiter: "Heere Iupiter to serue his lust turn'd Bull/The shape indeede in which he stole Europa" (III, i, 150-1). Here a provocative quibble freights the allusion with topicality. We have seen already that both Popes and Caesars (particularly Diocletian) were likened by Protestant contraversialists to each other. Similarly, both were likened to gods: Dioclesian's power in The Virgin Martyr is said to equal Jove's; Lawrence Humphrey calls the Pope "The Romish Capitoline Iupiter."⁵⁶ Thus, both the Pope and the emperor are identified with Jupiter: Hermes, in A Tragedie called Freewyl, relates: "the deuines concluded manyfestly that the hygh Bishop of Rome was a god upon earth, and not a

Satyre, or a Faunus, or a god of the woods . . . but a supreme power, carying his arrowes in his handes lyke Iupiter. . . ."57

Moreover, we know for example that "The Pope menaced [Elizabeth] with his Bulls abroad."⁵⁸ Humphrey makes these "Bulls" incorporate: "Besides these [treason, excommunication] another cruel Bulls heade groweth out, forthwith by a Bull to depose, ex officio & pro imperio, a Christian prince. So it pleased Pope Zachary to throwe out King Childerick and Pope Gregory the fourth, King Ludowick: Pope Pius the Queenes Maiesty. . . ."59 Elizabeth herself is said to have complained of Pius V:

Why should this Bull-head Bishop therefore, full
Of rage, against me roare with Basan Bull,
To plucke me from my sacred seat and throne.⁶⁰

Dekker makes similar use of the implicit pun in the word "bull": in The Whore of Babylon,

Whole heards of bulls loaden with hallowed curses,
With Interdictions, excommunications,
And with vnbinding Subiects fealties,
And with large pattents to kill Kings and Queens
Drive roaring hither, that vpon their hornes
This Empire may be tost (I, ii, 261-6),

and,

A wild beast, a mad bull, a bull that roares,
To fright allegiance from true subiects bosoms:
That Bull must bellow at the Flamins gate:
His gate, that tends the flockes of all those sheep
That graze in the fatst pasture of the land,
Beeing all inclos'd: that bull will on his backe
Beare all (IV, i, 19-25).

In this second anti-Catholic passage, incidentally, the "pastor" is called a "Flamin." A flamen, according to Lewis and Short's Latin Dictionary was "a priest of one particular deity" in the Roman pantheon. For example, Theophilus greets a priest in The Virgin Martyr with the

words: "Haile, Ioues Flamen" (I, i, 42). In The Whore of Babylon, therefore, Dekker intentionally and significantly confuses the jargon of pagan Rome with that of papal Rome.

The allusion to Jupiter and Europa may be construed similarly: Jupiter (the Pope), by means of a Bull (Papal Bulls), "steals" Europa (Europe).

All this is to point out that in The Virgin Martyr, an implicit ambiguity reinforced by suggestive particulars tends to make imperial Rome become the Rome of the Papacy. Therefore, if we are allowed the logic that Thomas Taylor uses when he says: "That religion must needs be good which Nero so persecuteth, which the Pope so persecuteth,"⁶¹ we may conclude that the religion which the Rome of the Papacy persecutes is a Protestant one. If "Rome" in The Virgin Martyr is like papal Rome, then its "Christian" victims would be Protestants.

The persecution of Protestants by Catholics of most glaring memory to Englishmen was that perpetrated by Stephen Gardiner and Edmund Bonner under Mary Tudor. Certainly, Protestant polemics consistently invoked this "bloudie time"--with gross exaggeration--as a warning against "the Catholic threat" well into the seventeenth century. Foxe's Book of Martyrs is a partisan catalogue of Protestant martyrs; John Aylmer recalls of "the Marian persecution," "the torments of Martyres, the murderynge of goodmen, Thimprisonment of Innocentes, The racking of the gyltles, The banishynge of Christ, The receiving of Antechriste, the spoyling of subiets, The moving of warres, The losse of Englandes honour, the purchasing of hatred, where we had love, the procuring of trouble where we had peax [sic]." ⁶² In Elizabeth's supposed

answer to the Bull of Pope Pius V, she says: "Whiles that my Sister was at Romish call/There was a stage and scene most tragical."⁶³

In The Whore of Babylon, Dekker had similarly alluded to Mary's reign; Florimel warns against the machinations of Rome:

Those black and poisonous waters that bore down
In their rough torrent, Fairie townes and towers,
And drownd our fields in Marianaes daies,
Will (in a mercilesse inundation)
Couer all againe: red Seas will flow again
(I, ii, 199-203).

In a sermon published as late as 1633, Thomas Vicars described in graphic terms the Marian persecution: "Some of the martyrs they scourged with rods, some they pulled their tongues out of their heads, nay their hearts out of their bodies, some they wracked and tortured, some they hanged, some they beheaded, some they burned, and that with a soft and lingring fire to prolong their paine. . . ."⁶⁴ Thus, the sensibility of Protestant England seemed attuned to remember Mary Tudor's reign, and apply it to the ever-present "Catholic danger," whenever "persecution" was referred to. The "papist" persecutions of 1555 were topical in 1620.

If this is the case in The Virgin Martyr, a few more allusions assume a new significance. For example, when the regenerate Theophilus instructs Macrinus to

Haste then to the port,
You there shall find two tall ships ready rig'd
In which embarke the poore distressed soules
And beare them from the reach of tyranny
(V, ii, 74-7),

the reference may have been evocative of the exile of Protestants during Mary's reign. Dekker makes two references to the Marian exile in The Whore of Babylon. In the "Dumb shew" preceding the first act, a show of

"Cardinalls" and friars bearing images is displaced by "certaine graue learned men, that had been banished, are brought in, and presented to Titania, who shewes to them the booke, which they receive with great signes of gladnesse. . . ." Later, the Empress of Babylon complains of England:

This subtile Curtizan [Truth] sets vp againe,
Whom we but late banisht, to liue in caues,
In rockes and desart mountaines (I, i, 63-5).

Thus, if The Virgin Martyr does have reference to "the winter and tempest of Queene Maries persecution,"⁶⁵ the mention of escaping from tyranny, and Sapritius' earlier order to "keepe the ports close" (I, i, 75), would be allusions to the Marian exile.

Dioclesian ends The Virgin Martyr with the declaration: "The persecution that is here begun./Throughout the world with violence shall run." As a matter of historical fact, Diocletian's persecution began not in Cappadocia, but in Nicomedia. Nor was Dorothea martyred at the beginning of the persecution. The Marian persecution in England, however, was followed by significant religious outrages of Catholics against Protestants, notably the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre in France, and the sacking of Antwerp by the Spaniards. Thomas Vicars invokes ". . . the massacre in Paris, wherein the Protestants in most barbarous and beastly manner were stabbed, and in that abundance, that the very streets ranne with the blood that was shed on that dismall Bartholomewes Even" as a warning to Englishmen:

Then imagine you see the city in an uprore, the Country in perplexity, the Papists everywhere up in armes, the Spaniard with his forces landing upon your coasts ready to joyne with them, your houses rifled, your goods spoyled, your Maidens ravished, your Wives abused, your Children slaughtered; Gods temple prophaned, the Kings authority debased,

the Popes power advanced, the pure preaching of the word abolished,
the Idolatrous superstition of the Masse established.⁶⁶

Dekker, in A Papist in Arms, deplores the "Vniversall Guizian Massacre":

Of him [the Jesuit], that is a Guizian Leaguer
And (for the Church) doth Massacre
The church itself, whilst France does [flame]
And then cuts Throates to quench the same.⁶⁷

In The Whore of Babylon, he has Fideli remark to Titania of the

Netherlands:

They have but seauenteen daughters young and faire,
Vowd to liue vestalls, and not to know the touch
Of any forced or vnreuerend hand.
Yet Lust and Auarice (to get their dowers)
Lay barbarous seidge against their chastitie,
Threaten to rauish them, to make their bodies
The temples of pollution, or their bedds
Graues where their honors shall be buried
(II, i, 243-50).

The allusion is to the imminent "rape" of the Low Countries by Spain,
whose cruelty is epitomized in her spoiling of Antwerp:

. . . there lay seventeen thousand dead bodies of men, women, and
children, in the town, slain at that time by the Spaniards.
. . . they spared neither age nor sex, time nor place, person
nor country, profession nor religion, young nor old, rich nor
poor, strong nor feeble; but without any mercy did tyrannously
triumph, where there was neither man nor means to resist them.⁶⁸

The "papal" persecution, then, like Dioclesian's, ran "throughout the
world."

Protestant propagandists did not belabour the "execrable machi-
nations" of Rome solely as historical exercises. They appear to have
been trying to instill a continuing fear of "Papistry" in the hearts of
the people. Certainly, to the Protestant mind, Catholicism posed a
constant source of disquiet in Elizabethan and Jacobean England.
Godfrey Davies, for example, claims that "protestantism and hatred of
popery, and of Spain as the champion of popery, were ruling passions

with the majority of Englishmen."⁶⁹ Thus, a play such as The Virgin Martyr, to the extent that its subject is explicitly religious and covertly sectarian, must be seen in light of these prevailing attitudes.

During the period after the death of Salisbury in 1612, "English foreign policy seemed perverted into following the interests of Spain."⁷⁰ The Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, had proposed a marriage between the Spanish Infanta and Prince Henry; the Prince declined the invitation. When he died, however, it was once more extended, this time to Prince Charles. The most glaringly immediate difficulties in the scheme appear to have arisen from the "exorbitant demands" of the Spaniards: "Not only were any children of the marriage to be baptized and educated by their mother as catholics and to be free to remain such without forfeiting their right of succession to the throne, but also the execution of the penal laws was to be suspended."⁷¹ The proposed Spanish marriage, therefore, posed a real Catholic threat to England, which lasted until the abortive and incognito journey of Charles and Buckingham to Spain in 1623. Among the noticeable results of the "negotiations" was a policy of appeasement on the part of James. In 1618, a hundred priests were freed to leave the country, and Sir Walter Raleigh, having "offended" Spain, was finally executed on a treason charge of 1603: "To the country, Raleigh now appeared to be a Protestant hero, martyred to appease Spain and the Catholics."⁷² The ultimate failure of the marriage scheme was greeted with rejoicing: "The reason for this rejoicing was that Englishmen felt delivered from the fears, that had beset them for the last six or seven years, that a Spanish match would mean the ruin of protestantism in England and on the Continent."⁷³

The proposed Spanish alliance, therefore, would have given specific occasion for the writing of The Virgin Martyr and would have sensitized the audience to significant allusions in the play. Dekker's polemical anti-catholicism seems to have been in the main restricted to reactions to particular occurrences. Thus, both A Papist in Arms and The Whore of Babylon were responses to the Gunpowder Treason, and If This Be Not a Good Play refers to Ravallac's assassination of Henry IV in France. Dekker had also participated in anti-Spanish stage propaganda in the Lady Jane plays and in Sir Thomas Wyatt. In the case of The Virgin Martyr, however, explicit anti-Catholic propaganda would have run counter to James' policy, and would therefore have been more "dangerous" than in the case of "machinations" that had been unanimously deplored. The play does, however, supply a portrait of a persecuting church that could be interpreted only one way if topicality was in fact intended.

Louise Clubb paints an optimistic picture of the reception of The Virgin Martyr by its Catholic audience: "Without straining probability, one may imagine . . . priests [under the relaxed penal laws], out of jail for a few hours, attending performances of The Virgin Martyr by the Servants of His Majesty's Revels, and with pleasure recognizing the tragedy as English cousin to the familiar tragedia sacra of Rome."⁷⁴ This, I would suggest, puts a considerable strain on probability. As we have seen, The Virgin Martyr, merely as an account of Roman persecution of Christians, is at least ambiguously to be apprehended, and quite likely to be apprehended in terms of the identification of imperial Rome with the Rome of the Papacy. As a

saint's legend, the play is susceptible still, perhaps, of interpretation as a "patristic" play. A consideration of the complementary action involving Dorothea's two "traytors," Hircius and Spungius, however, subverts the possibility of ignoring The Virgin Martyr's topical relevance.

CHAPTER FOUR

"THESE LOATHSOME SOOTERKINS ENGENDERED OF FILTH AND DULNESS"

The Roman church which perpetrates the persecutions of the Christians in The Virgin Martyr is explicitly, and was historically, a pagan religion. In the play, quite appropriately, Theophilus declares his devotion to the pagan gods:

So I to all posterities might be cald
The strongest champion of the Pagan gods
And rooter out of Christians (I, i, 70-2).

This is in response to the constant prickings of his diabolical "secretary," Harpax, who warns that the most critical threat "To the Religion there, and Pagan lore" (II, ii, 61) is that posed by the growing Christian "sect." Later, fired with wrath, Theophilus declares a personal vendetta against Dorothea:

No, her bitterest torment
Shall be to feele her constancy beaten downe,
The brauery of her resolution lie
Battered by the argument, into such peeces,
That she agen shall (on her belly) creepe
To kisse the pauements of our Panim gods
(II, iii, 174-9).

Such remarks are themselves not unusual when the setting of the play is considered. However, the identification of imperial Rome with the Rome of the Papacy renders the "paganism" of The Virgin Martyr somewhat more significant.

The identification of the Roman Catholic religion directly with paganism seems to have been popular among Protestant writers in

post-Reformation England. John Foxe, drawing a comparison between the Christianity of primitive Rome and that of papal Rome, concludes of the latter: ". . . neither that this were any true church of Christ, but a new-found religion, or paganism rather, brought in under the shadow of Christianity" ¹ John Bale, deploring the Catholic doctrine of the Mass as propitiatory sacrifice, suggests a relationship with pagan practice: "Their original ground should seem to be taken of the Druids, or pagan priests, which inhabited this realm long afore Christ's incarnation, and had then practised sacrifices, public and private." ² In a sermon printed in 1633, Thomas Vicars expounds: "Yes, beloved, I say it, and will say it againe, that the Popish faction are as guilty of this cruelty against GODS Church, as the very Pagans were, and that Popish Rome is as thirsty of blood as ever Heathenish Rome was" ³ The author of An Answer or Admonition to these of the Church of Rome, touching the Iubile proclaimed by the Bull made and set forth by Pope Clement the eyght is more specific:

[Clement has] forged this Iubile, after the manner of the secular yeare of the Romaines: That is, of a certaine Feast and playes, which was celebrated euery hundred yeeres within the city of Rome, among the Pagans: as in like manner Candlemas day hath been established by them, in place of the Feast which the Pagans used to celebrate upon the same day, and with the like ceremonies of Candles and Lights, in the honour of their Goddess Proserpin. Marke then how these good Prelates, and the heads of the Church have transfigured the feastes of the Pagans into their Papistical Feastes, onely changing the names. ⁴

The list of authors citing this comparison could be continued.

What is significant, however, is that certain elements of Roman practice, especially "sacrifices" and "celebrations," were, rightly or wrongly, seized upon by the Protestant controversialists

in identifying the Church of Rome with Paganism. The implicit pun in "Rome" in The Virgin Martyr is therefore reinforced by the added ramifications of the word "pagan."

In The Virgin Martyr, the use of the word "pagan" would not seem significant, or even noticeable, except that Dekker's two "comic" creations, Hircius and Spungius, whose moral function in the play relegates them to the fringes of humanity, belabour mercilessly the fact that they are themselves a type of "pagans." In the scene in which they are introduced, a concentrated repetition of the term makes us emphatically aware that they are "pagans": "When I was a Pagan . . ." (II, i, 9); ". . . when I was a Pagan and kneeld to this Bacchus" (II, i, 25-6); "As I am a totall Pagan . . ." (II, i, 66); ". . . as I am a demy Pagan" (II, i, 59); "As I am a Pagan, from my cod-peece downward . . ." (II, i, 75); "I see no remedy, fellow Hircius, but that thou and I must be halfe Pagans and halfe Christians" (II, i, 40-3); ". . . no, no, I am resolved to haue an Infidels heart,/though in shew I carry a Christian face" (II, i, 47-8). In so far as they are self-announced "pagans" in a play about "pagan Rome," Hircius and Spungius constitute a comment upon the paganism of "Rome."

Before discussing the sectarian paganism of the unsavoury pair, however, two things must be noted of them. First, critics declare unanimously and without reservation that Hircius and Spungius are the creations of Thomas Dekker: "It will be noticed that Dekker was responsible solely for scenes involving Hircius and Spungius."⁵ Thus, to the extent that they do comment upon the rest of the play, they constitute Dekker's comments upon the saint's legend that

Massinger appears to have introduced. Second, Hircius and Spungius are anachronisms--glaring and persistent--in a play whose setting is, ostensibly, imperial Roman Cappadocia.

They are primarily anachronistic in that their speech is the jargon of London low-life, a jargon that one would expect to find in a play like The Shoemaker's Holiday. Their "racy" conversation is replete with cobbling and tailoring metaphors interlarded with more specific contemporary references. For example, Spungius says of his "worship" of Bacchus: "This boone Bacchanalian skinker, did I make legges to" (II, i, 21). To "make a leg" was a distinctly Elizabethan practice. Spungius shortly thereafter declares that "There is no danger of loosing a mans eares by making these Indentures" (II, i, 23-4). Both "indentures" and "loosing a mans eares" are contemporary allusions. Boasting of his prowess at the cup, but having lately suffered humiliation, he says: "I durste out-drinke a Lord, but your Christian Lords out boule me" (II, i, 67), incorporating a punning allusion to the game of "bowls." There were no "Christian Lords" in imperial Rome or in Cappadocia. And Harpax discourses with Hircius and Spungius in the terms of men threatened by peculiarly English law enforcement:

Spung. Pray my Lord and Prince, let me encounter you with one foolish question: does the diuell eate any Mace in's broth?

Harpax. Exceeding much, when his burning feauer takes him, and then hee has the knuckles of a Bailiffe boyld to his breakefast.

Hirc. Then my Lord, he loues a Catchpole does he not?

Harpax. As a Bearward does a dog, a Catchpole! he has sworn if euer he dies, to make a Serieant his heire, and a Yoeman his ouerseer (III, iii, 171-8).

Certainly, to the extent that these scenes are "comic," they rely upon the contemporary for their comic effect. However, they are by no stretch of the imagination "Roman"; they place the scene of the action in early seventeenth-century London streets and taverns. That they are, really, superfluous to the saint's legend makes their function in The Virgin Martyr all the more significant.

Thus, in a topical allusion that cannot be ignored, Spungius invokes

Bacchus, the God of Brew'd Wine and Sugar, grand Patron of rob-pots, vpsie-freesie-tiplers, and super-naculum takers; this Bacchus, who is head warden of Vintners Hall, Ale cunner, Maior of all Vic-tualizing houses, the sole liquid Benefactor to bawdy-houses, Lanze prezado to red Noses, and inuincible Adelantado ouer the Armado of pimpled, deepe scarletted, rubified, and carbuncled faces
(II, i, 13-9).

Important here is the anachronistic reference to the Armada, which Dekker in The Whore of Babylon treats as a threat directly from Rome, and, in A Strange Horse-Race, as a threat directly from hell: Satan complains: "Hel's vndone, Why yelped all the rest? An Armada (quoth he) cannot saue vs" ⁶ Ostensibly, Spungius himself is one of "the Armado of pimpled, deepe scarletted, and carbuncled faces" and is therefore a species of Spaniard. Lanze prezado is Spanish for, literally, "pale green lance"--a symbol, like the "painted staff" of the "Catchpole," of authority. An Adelantado was a governor of a province in Spain or, more significantly, of a Spanish colonial province. Thomas Scott, in Robert Earle of Essex his Ghost, Sent from

Elizian: To the Nobility, Gentry, and Communalitie of England (1624), which is an explicit complaint to James I against the Spanish marriage and the league with Spain, fears that "the Adelantado were gone for England."⁷ The reference made by Spungius to matters Spanish, with the suggestion of invasion implicit in the word "Armado," would perhaps have brought the same controversy to the minds of Dekker's audience.

In Sir Thomas Wyat, which is a comment upon the possibility of a Spanish monarch in England, Dekker makes this appraisal of the Spanish:

Bret. Philip is a Spaniard, and what is a Spaniard?

Clo. A Spaniard is no Englishman that I know.

Bret. Right, a Spaniard is a Camocho, a Callimanco, nay which is worse, a Dondego, and what is a Dondego?

Clo. A Dondego is a kinde of Spanish Stockfish, or poore Iohn.

Bret. No, a Dondego is a desperate Viliago, a uery Castilian, God bless us.
There came but one Dundego into England, and hee made all Paules stincke agen, what shall a whole army of Dondegoes doe my sweete Countrimen? (IV, ii, 49).

As Copley's "Elizian" is discouraged by the brimstone odor of Cato's ghost in A Fig for Fortune, so are Dekker's worthies dismayed by the "smell" of the Spaniard. In The Guls Hornbook, Dekker, speaking of the Gunpowder Plot, says of the Catholic faction: ". . . your Dia-catholicon aureum, that with gunpowder brings threatenings to blow vp all diseases that come in his way, and smels worse than Assafoetida in respect of this."⁸ Assa ("rosted, tosted") foetida ("stinking") refers to the smell of burning sulphur, therefore, to both gunpowder and to hell. In The Virgin Martyr, Dekker applies the same epithet

when Hircius calls Spungius a "whoreson Assa Foetida" (III, iii, 66).

Besides the pervasive presence of Hircius and Spungius, the play is focused in England by two other explicit allusions to Britain. Like the Hircius and Spungius scenes, these are both written by Dekker.

A British slave is sent for by Sapritius to ravish the chaste Dorothea. That he is from Britain is emphasized when Sapritius asks from what country he was taken a prisoner:

Slaue. From Brittaine.

Sapr. In the west Ocean.

Slaue. Yes.

Sapr. An Iland.

Slaue. Yes.

Sapr. I am fitted, of all Nations
Our Romane swords euer conquer'd, none comes neere
The Brittaine for true whooring (IV, i, 130-3).⁹

This established, Sapritius asks the man what he would dare to obtain his liberty. The slave replies with defiance that he would

. . . fight naked with a Lyon,
Venture to plucke a Standard from the heart
Of an arm'd Legion: liberty! Ide thus
Bestride a Rampire, and defiance spit
I'th face of death . . . (IV, i, 145-9),

and so on in the same fashion. However, he balks at the suggestion that he rape Dorothea:

And rauish her! is this your manly seruice,
A Diuell scorns to doo't, tis for a beast,
A villaine, not a man, I am as yet
But halfe a slaue . . . (IV, i, 151-4).

The compliment to British integrity and the spirit of liberty is implicit in the extravagant declaration of what Louise Clubb calls "the much admired British slave."¹⁰ Moreover, it is somewhat

reminiscent of the kind of patriotism manifested in English resistance to the "machinations" of Rome in The Whore of Babylon. The Empress there, in a speech that is an ironic concession redounding to the credit of the "Fairies," says:

. . . her [Titania's] Fairies hearts,
Lie in enchanted towers (impregnable)
No engine scales them (I, i, 99-101).

The scene of the British slave in The Virgin Martyr would appear to bring that play's relevance closer to England.

When Britain appears again in the play, it is in Theophilus' delighted reflections upon the torments that Rome has inflicted upon Christians. He cites two rather remote examples:

Great Britaine,^[11] what.
A thousand wiues with brats sucking their brests,
Had hot Irons pinch'em off, and throwne to swine;
And then their fleshly backparts hewed with hatchets,
Were minc'd and bak'd in Pies to feede staru'd Christians
(V, i, 19-22),

and, then:

Agen, agen,--East Anglas--, oh, East Angles,
Bandogs (kept three dayes hungry) worried
A thousand Brittish Rascals, styed vp, fat
Of purpose, strip'd naked, and disarm'd
(V, i, 25-8).

It is curious, first, that Theophilus, whose "streames of seruice" were exercised only in Caesarea, should regale himself exclusively with the "Drolleries and bloody Lantskips" (V, i, 10) of England.

It is also curious that, while the historical Diocletian personally ruled the Roman provinces in Asia from Nicomedia, his viceroy in Gaul and Britain, Constantius Chlorus, was singularly reluctant to practice or tolerate persecution: "In Gaul and Britain only was there any safety."¹²

In the same speech, Theophilus calls himself a "curious Painter" (V, i, 5) and refers to the persecutions as "sweete Bul-baitings" (V, i, 29), both anachronistic allusions. He describes the ancient persecutions in England in contemporary terminology. Significantly, he complains that his persecutions are "Long past wrap'd vp" (V, i, 11) so that he must make himself "merry/With shadowes, now I want the substances" (V, i, 11-2). He appears to be talking about persecutions in England that happened long ago, but in his memory. In other words, he is invoking the past as a reflection upon the present; Dekker is invoking the past as a warning to the present.

Moreover, at the end of the play, Dioclesian resolves: "The persecution that is here begun,/Throughout the world with violence shall run" (V, ii, 241-2). If this is not inviting the accusation of "the idiot logic of the rational spectator,"¹³ I would ask this question: if the terror has in fact just begun in Caesarea, how is it that Theophilus can already reflect upon its manifestations in a far-flung part of the Empire like Britain? If the persecution has in fact just begun, how can it be "Long past wrap'd vp"? Theophilus' account is more correctly a prediction than a history. Dekker wrote the speech of Theophilus; Massinger apparently wrote Dioclesian's final lines. They appear to be referring to two different persecutions. The disparity argues for the intentional skewing of the history in the play by Dekker to issue the same kind of vivid warning against "imperialism" that Vicars, for example, issues against "Romish" dangers. Elsewhere, Dekker had formulated this dictum: ". . . I write as a Poet, not as

an Historian and . . . these two do not live under one law."¹⁴ In The Whore of Babylon, Dekker had already broken the "law" of history to paint England's problems with the Papacy in transparent allegory, as he had done previously in using the historical parallel of Titus' sack of Jerusalem as an explicit warning to England in Canaan's Calamitie.

Thomas Heywood, in his Apology for Actors (1612), had stated in defence and disclosure of the English dramatists: "If we present a forraigne History, the subject is so intended, that in the lives of Romans, Grecians, or others, either the vertues of our Countrey-men are extolled, or their vices reproved"¹⁵ A question arises as to where general moral didacticism runs into reference to specific situations. We have seen that The Virgin Martyr is applicable to Jacobean England: the ambiguity of its "Roman" setting, prevailing religious controversy and injustice, and Dekker's introduction of "British" elements all suggest topicality. Of these "British" elements, the one that is pervasive in the play deserves further consideration.

Certain critics have reproached Dekker with the repulsiveness of his "pagans," Hircius and Spungius: "Indeed, nothing more base and filthy can be conceived than the dialogues between Hircius and Spungius."¹⁶ In the same paragraph that he makes this condemnation, however, Gifford implies the dramatic cogency of the low-life scenes in the context of the whole play: ". . . but the genuine and dignified piety of Dorothea, her unsullied innocence, her unshaken constancy, the lofty pity which she expresses for her persecutors, her calm

contempt of tortures, and her heroic death, exalt the mind in no common degree, and make the reader almost insensible of the surrounding impurity through the contempt of it which they inspire."¹⁷ M. L. Hunt emphasizes that "Hircius and Spungius are personifications, as Dekker took pains to state; their names represent the two sins most abhorrent to the maiden purity of their mistress, and most in contrast with it."¹⁸ H. D. Sykes regards the two reprobates as morality figures and concurs with Miss Hunt: "Their unutterable baseness at any rate serves as a most effective foil to the unassailable purity of the heroic Dorothea."¹⁹ In any case, Hircius and Spungius must be understood, for they define the "paganism" in the play, and come to The Virgin Martyr from a dramatic tradition different from that which supplies the "essence of the play."

William Prynne, scourging the theatre in his Histrio-mastix (1633), asks a rhetorical question: "Who euer resorted to a Pest-house to look for health, or drunke down poyson to preserve his life? Who euer posted to a tippling Alehouse to seek sobriety; or to a Stewes to learne true chastity?"²⁰ He might well be derogating a play like The Virgin Martyr, in which Hircius and Spungius chaotically frequent both "Alehouse" and "Stewes." The very obvious contrast that they provide with Dorothea renders their moral function unmistakable. It is a function that seems to derive from the tradition of morality drama. For example, a comparison with Mary Magdalen explains the use of carnal vice in the theatre as a counterpoise to the virtue that the drama seeks to inculcate. In that play, this stage direction appears: "her xal entyr the Kynge of flesch with slowth, gloteny,

lechery":

I, kyng of flesch, florychyd in my flowers,
Of deyntys delycyows I have greet domynacyon,
So ryal a kyng was nevyr borne in bowrys,
Nor hath more delyth ne more delectacyon.²¹

And, in The Castle of Perseverance, "Mundus" tempts "Humanum Genus":

Cum up, me serwaunt, trow as stele,
Thou shalt be ryche whereso thou goo,
Men schul servyn the at mele
With minstrellyse, and bemys blo,
With metes and drynkes trye.
Lust and lykinge schal be thin ese,
Lovely ladys the schal plese,
Who so do the any disese,
He schal ben hangyd hye.²²

As imperial Rome represents the precarious magnificence of the temporal world in The Virgin Martyr, Hircius and Spungius, lifted from the morality tradition, personify its ephemerality and degradation.

Similarly, Angelo, who is "more than mortal" and who has only temporarily left his "heavenly habitation" (IV, ii, 128-30), has his roots in the Morality tradition. He is more than merely an instrument of Providence in The Virgin Martyr; throughout the play, he represents the moral alternative to the evil Harpax. He is prefigured by, for example, "Bonus Angelus" in The Castle of Perseverance:

A! nay, man! for Cristes blod!
Cum agayn be strete and style!
The world is wyckyd and ful wod,
And thou shalt levyn but a whyle,
What coveytyst thou to wyne?
Man, thynke on thyn endynge day,
Whanne thou schalt be closyd under clay,
And if thou thenke of that a-ray,
Certes thou schalt not synne.²³

In The Virgin Martyr, Angelo admonishes Hircius and Spungius:

. . . be sorry for your ryots,
Tame your wild flesh by labor, eate the bread
Got with hard hands: let sorrow be your whip

To draw drops of repentance from your heart
(III, iii, 90-3).

And Harpax,²⁴ the devil's advocate, who exhorts Hircius and Spungius to follow Satan for "he's a wondrous good fellow, loves a cup of wine, a whore, any thing" (III, iii, 162-3), is the dramatic descendent of "Malus Angelus":

Ya, on thi sowle thou schalt thynke al by tyme;
Cum forth, man, and take non heade,
Cum on and thou schalt holdyn hym inne.
Thi flesh thou schalt foster and fede
With lofly lyvys fode.
With the world thou mayst be bold
Tyl thou be sexty wynter hold;
Wanne thi nose waxit cold
Thanne mayst thou drawe to good.²⁵

In The Virgin Martyr, then, there is grafted onto the frame structure of the saint's legend, an integral and complementary morality play element, apparently contributed by Dekker. It is this element that at once lends the play universality, and focuses the moral upon England.

At the time of the Reformation in England, the morality play assumed a sectarian bias:

In God's Promises, John the Baptist, and the Temptation, Bale makes the point that salvation comes through faith alone, whereas the notion of free will, good works, and good intentions, leads only to damnation. All these plays have retained the essential quality of the morality, namely, the struggle between good and evil for the soul of man, or an equivalent virtue. But now the virtues are Protestants; the vices are Catholics. The virtues always win the struggle.²⁶

Lily B. Campbell concurs in this view: "The morality often merged into theological polemics as the conflict between the Roman church and the gradually developing Protestant sects became violent and passionate."²⁷ Neither critic tells us whether, after the Reformation, it was any longer possible to write a morality play without a

sectarian bias. Certainly it would not be surprising to find in The Virgin Martyr evidence of the Protestant morality tradition.

This, in fact, is what we do find. The vulgarity of Hircius and Spungius, for example, may be explained in terms of the tradition from which they emanate. The Protestant morality seemed to associate, as a convention, crudity of language with the Catholic Church. Thus, when Spungius says: "Who would think that we comming forth of the arse, as it were, or fag end of the world, should yet see the golden age" (II, iii, 204-6), his speech should be regarded in comparison with that of the "lewd pryst," "Sedition," in John Bale's Kynge Johan, who declares that he was born ". . . under the Pope in the holye city of Rome," and promises: "I am Sedycyon, that with the pope will hold/So long as I have a hole within my breche."²⁸ Incidentally, "Sedition's" "holye father," the Pope, promises "haboundance of wenches, wyne, and treasure."²⁹ These are literally the same lures with which Harpax angles for Hircius and Spungius in The Virgin Martyr:

Y'are rightly seru'd; before that peeuish Lady [Dorothea]
Had to doe with you, weomen, wine, and money
Flow'd in abundance with you, did it not?
(III, iii, 121-3).

The identification of the Pope, like Harpax, as the agent of the devil will be considered later.

Other evils were, in Protestant polemics, identified more or less exclusively with the Roman Catholic Church, or with the often wrong-headed estimation of it as "Papistry." The author of The Abuses of the Romish Church sums up the seven sins of "Rome" as "the intolerable abuses of Pole-horne Popelings . . . their abhominable Lying,

whoring, Swearing, Blaspheming, Pride, Drunkenness, Couetousnesse and the like."³⁰ In Sir John Oldecastle (ca. 1589), "one of the characters who will 'swear, drink ale, kiss a wench, go to mass, eat fish all Lent, . . . shrive me of my old sins afore Easter, and begin new before Whitsuntide,' called himself in consequence, 'no Puritan, but of the old church.'"³¹ The "old church," as we have seen, was the Catholic Church.

In The Virgin Martyr, Hircius and Spungius certainly do "swear," invoking especially Bacchus and Priapus. Their propensity to swearing comes concentrated in the series of oaths that have been cited previously: "as I am a demy Pagan," "as I am a totall Pagan," and so on. Nor are they the only "pagans" who swear in the play. Artemia swears by Dioclesian's "sacred fortune" (I, i, 165); Dioclesian says to Artemia: "Make choyce of any, by Ioues dreadfull thunder . . . (I, i, 287-9); Theophilus swears "ith name/Of Pluto" (II, ii, 39-40); Dorothea is commanded to swear "By Caesars fortune" (IV, ii, 70-2). She refuses.

The use of oaths was common enough in Jacobean drama. However, in Protestant morality plays, where only the antagonists swear, the use of oaths was often a first distinguishing characteristic of the Catholic vices. "Sedition" in Kynge Johan swears remorselessly: "Be me fayth and trowth," "by the messe," "By the holy trynyte";³² "Iniquity" in King Darius swears "By the mass," "by the rood," "By Gog's wounds"; "Inclination" in The Trial of Treasure (1567), swears "By the mass," "Cock's soul!" and "By St. Mary!"³³ These oaths frequently appear in unmistakable clusters. It is not unlikely that

Haue you the baskets emptied which your Lady
Sent from the charitable hands, to women
That dwell vpon her pittie? (II, i, 95-7)

Immediately, Spungius seizes upon the word "emptied," and begins to equivocate:

Spung. Emptied em! yes Ide be loth to haue my belly so emptie,
yet I'm sure, I munched not one bit of them neither.

Ange. And went your money to the prisoners.

Hirc. Went! no, I carryed it; and with these fingers paid it
away (II, i, 98-101).

Of course Hircius and Spungius are lying, for they have "sold the widowes food" and "coined the money into pottle pots of wine" (II, i, 59-60). Thus, they quite readily admit that they have "emptied" the baskets and "paid away" the money, but that is only half the tale. Of the Jesuit practice of excusable equivocation, we find that "it is maintained that it is lawful and justifiable to express one part of a man's mind and retain another."³⁵ This is precisely what Hircius and Spungius are doing. Similarly, when Dorothea cautions Spungius against thievery and falsehood, he replies indignantly: "Rob 'em Lady, I hope neither my fellow nor I am theeues" (II, i, 154), and, "Lye Madame, what griefe is it to see you turne Swaggerer, and giue your poore minded rascally seruants the lye" (II, i, 161-2)--avoiding the issue by deftly deflecting the words. In a quibbling admonition, Dorothea warns Angelo about the two reprobates: ". . . you will find them flies,/Not lying still, yet in them no good lyes" (II, iii, 5-6). In other words, they are "not lying" at the same time that they are perverting truth: this is equivocating. Angelo asks them: "Are you made all of lyes?" (III, iii, 87)

Besides lying and swearing, Hircius and Spungius do "eat fish," apparently all during Lent. Having been queried by Dorothea whether he has distributed the charity that she had entrusted to him, Hircius replies: "Deliverd with good hands madam, else let me neuer licke my fingers more when I eate butterd fish" (II, i, 155-6).

Earlier, Hircius had complained irascibly of Dorothea's "praying and our fasting" (II, i, 35-6). His subsequent actions identify his as a "Roman Catholic" fast. William Tyndale, deprecating "Popish" fasts, asks: "Where thou fastest from meat and drinkest all day, is that a Christian fast?"³⁶ Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester, reprimanded the Catholic John Feckenham, who had accused a Mr. Denny of epicureanism for not abstaining from meat:

"For," said he, "if ye so thought, because he did eat flesh and never fish, he might as well fast with flesh as with fish: but if it were, that he used not abstinence, in that Mr. Denny did more than you. For where you have every day in the week your three meals, Friday and others; the gentleman was contented three days in the week with one meal, and never did eat above two."³⁷

The allusions to fasting in The Virgin Martyr, then, are topical.

Hircius and Spungius are identified with the Catholics, who were allowed both wine and fish during fasts. That the fish which Hircius eats is "buttered" emphasizes the topicality of the reference. Henry Mason, in The Epicures Fast, deplores the Catholic dispensation that "excuseth the Britons for eating of butter in the Lent time."³⁸ All this is part of an exaggerated Protestant notion that its fast laws, its use of icons, and its Eucharistic doctrine made the Catholic Church the proponent of carnality.

Certainly, this point of view was peddled wholesale by the enemies of "Papistry." One Protestant wrote a doggerel poem epitomizing "Catholic" vice:

If that I must in order tell,
 What vertues 'long to Monkish Cell,
 He is not fit for Cell or Couen,
 That's not a Glutton and a Slouen,
 Sluggish, Lecherous, for nought fit,
 A drunkard, dolt, devoyd of wit,
 He must eate at each Repast,
 Vntill his belly well nigh brast:
 Hee must guzzell in the wine,
 Till he be drunken as a Swine.
 And if he can but chaunt it well,
 This man is fit for Quier or Cell.³⁹

This is, of course, the appraisal of unqualified prejudice. However, Dekker does take cognizance of the attitude, at least as a convention, in If This Be Not a Good Play, where the devil Shacklesoule pampers the "belly-cheere" of a coven of monastics, and fetters them with "loathsome surfet" (I, iii, 114). And, as respectable a Protestant preacher as Thomas Vicars, with only slight qualification, similarly characterizes the Catholic Church: ". . . there is not any religion in the world . . . that gives more way to the flesh, and opens a greater gap to sensuality and carnality and all manner of licentiousnesse, than the Doctrine of Popery doth, as it is taught in these dayes."⁴⁰ All this is the first step in a process which Shacklesoule describes in If It Be Not Good:

Charity! shees vndone:
 Fat gluttony broke her back: next her step'd in
 Contention (who shakes Churches) now the sweete sin
 (Sallow lechery,) should march after: Auarice,
 Murder, and all sinnes els, hell can deuice,
 Ile broach: the head's in, draw the body after,
 Begin thy feast in full cuppes, end in slaughter
 (I, iii, 197-203).

It is a process that is repeated by Hircius and Spungius in The Virgin Martyr. Beginning in "full cuppes," they subvert Dorothea's charity, and end by betraying her to death.

It is the drunkenness and lechery of Spungius' and Hircius' natures that set them upon a primrose path to what is explicitly revealed to be "the everlasting bonfire." Both these sins, while they are non-sectarian moral evils, were applied, as were swearing and lying, with particular vehemence to the Roman Catholic Church by Protestants after the Reformation.

In The Virgin Martyr, Hircius (from Latin hircus=goat) is the personification of lust:

Hircius your name, and Goatish is your nature;
You snatch the meat out of the prisoners mouth,
To fatten harlots, is not this hell to [sic] ,
No Angell, but the divell waites on you
(II, i, 24-7).

Dekker, in The Whore of Babylon, had, in deference to the Protestant polemical tradition, toyed with the reputed licentiousness and carnality of the Roman Catholic Church. The Empress of Babylon complains that her "Babylonian Sinagogues"

Are counted Stewes, where Fornications
And all uncleannesse Sodomiticall
(Whose leprosy touch'd vs neuer) are daily acted
(I, i, 32-5).

Similarly, in The Virgin Martyr, it is with the lewdness of the pagan "Roman" religion that Dorothea chastises the fallen Christeta:

Or you Christeta,
To be heereafter registred a goddessse,
Giue your chast body vp to the embraces
Of Goatish lust, haue it writ on your forehead,
This is the common Whoore, the prostitute,
The Mistresse in the art of wantonnesse,

Knowes euery tricke and labyrinth of desires
That are immodest (III, i, 129-36).

The "common Whoore" and "writ upon your forehead" are specifically evocative of the "Whore of Babylon" of the Revelation, with whom Protestants were wont to identify the Church of Rome. The Empress of Babylon, who in The Whore of Babylon is "common," responds with feigned incredulity to the suggestion that she has "mystical" letters written on her brow: "View our forehead?/Where are we printed with such Characters" (IV, iv, 58-9). Her "recruits" are similarly identified:

. . . Campeius! Babylon,
His name hath in her tables: on his forehead,
Our Queene hath set her marke (II, ii, 46-8).

The "Goatish lust" is that personified in Hircius. Elsewhere, in the same metaphor, Dekker relates lechery to "Romish" priests. The Jesuit in A Papist in Arms is "Goate-bellied: rather than heele leeze/His Lust, heele browze upon his knees."⁴¹

Similarly, Spungius is characterized by Angelo:

. . . you are Spungius cald
And like a Spunge you suck vp liquorous wines
Till your soule reeles to hell (II, i, 118-20).

He is like the Romish conspirator, Paridel, in The Whore of Babylon, who has similarly sucked, not wine, but poison from Rome:

I became a sponge
To drinke vp all their mischiefe, and lay drown'd
In their infected waters . . . (IV, ii, 163-5).

It is significant, however, that the mischief, the poison, in The Whore of Babylon is peddled in the form of wine: "Shee [the Empress] with her own hand/Will fill thee wine out of a golden bowle" (II, ii, 26-7). This wine, however, is "ranke poyson down" (IV, iv, 48).

As we have seen, Spungius swears by the god of wine, "Bacchus, the God of brew'd Wine and Sugar" (II, i, 13); he recalls ". . . when I was a Pagan and kneeld to this Bacchus, I durst out-drinke a Lord" (II, i, 25-6). In The Whore of Babylon, the wine of the Empress is explicitly bacchanalian:

Ovt of your Cup made wee them drunke with wines,
To sound their hearts, which they with such deuotion
Receiued downe, that euen whilst Bacchus swom
From lippe to lippe, in mid'st of taking healths,
They tooke their owne damnation, if their bloud
(As those grapes) stream'd not forth to effect your good
(III, i, 83-8).

Like the pagan Spungius in The Virgin Martyr, and the Catholic Cardinal in The Whore of Babylon, Catholic priests were seen by Protestants as Bacchus' "flamins." The author of The Fall of Babylon, for example, deprecates "hallowing grapes on the Altar, and such like foolish ordinances," particularly when these ceremonies were performed by priests "drunke in their Surplesses."⁴² And Thomas Vicars tells us: "This I am sure of, that the arch-Traytor Garnet, the Priest, was noted for an ambitious fellow, aiming at a Cardinals Hat, & such an one as did indulgere genio, love his belly too well, & such an one as would ofte use to sacrifice to Bacchus, being very usually cupshotten" ⁴³

Bacchus, the "god of grapes," is not the only pagan deity to which the "Catholic" antagonists in The Whore of Babylon refer. The King of Spain, Satyrane, speaks of "the lustie sonne of Ioue" (I, ii, 92), "Apollo" who "from's owne head cuts golden lockes" (I, ii, 143), and ". . . the winged messenger/That runnes on all the errands of the gods" (I, ii, 145-6). A Cardinal says: "Create a braue Armado, such a Fleete,/That may breake Neptunes backe to carry it" (III, i, 255-6).

The Empress herself asks that her throne be exalted above ". . . the thrones/Supernall, which with Ioues own seate stand euen" (IV, iv, 9-10). In this play, the Roman Catholics confuse the terminology of their own church with that of pagan Rome. My argument is that the opposite is true in the case of The Virgin Martyr, where the religion of "Rome" is similarly ambiguous.

Certainly, in The Virgin Martyr, the two besetting sins of Hircius and Spungius are the same as those of the Empress in The Whore of Babylon, who complains that her detractors

Giue out that I am common: that for lust, and hire
I prostitute this body: that to Kings
I quaff full bowles of strong enchanting wines,
To make them dote on me (I, i, 85-8).

Against the background of the Protestant polemical appraisal of the carnality of the Catholic Church, the identification of Catholicism in terms of carnality and inebriety by Dekker himself (in The Whore of Babylon and A Papist in Arms), and the association of the two with other "abuses" of the Roman Catholic Church (by their swearing, lying, and fasting), Hircius' lechery and Spungius' drunkenness likely have reference to their theology, as well as to their morality. This becomes clearer when the eucharistic significance of their presence is considered. At least their sins are the starting-point of their betrayal of Dorothea.

Angelo chastises them for having sold Dorothea, who had saved them from hanging, for the love of "golden drosse" (III, iii, 221). To Hircius' rather credulous self-examination, ". . . why may not we then betray a scuruy mistresse for gold" (III, iii, 65), Dekker has elsewhere given this answer: "No miserie is greater than to leave God

for the love of gold."⁴⁴ Hircius and Spungius, to their great distress, ultimately discover this to be indeed the case. Their question is answered by experience when their malevolent mentor, Harpax, abandons them.

In Kynge Johan, "Treason," whose mind, with those of his minions, is "sett upon the fylthie luker," makes an appraisal of the crime which he personifies: "No, no, with Judas we love wele to be purst/We selle owr maker so sone as we have hym made."⁴⁵ This statement has a three-fold meaning. In so far as he represents the betrayal of his king, he speaks merely of treason; in so far as he is the henchman of the Pope, he is selling out his king by betraying true religion; in so far as he is a Catholic, this is a Eucharist allusion. Having "made" their "maker" (Christ) by baking him into bread, the Catholic clergy "sell" him to the people who pay to support the Church. In The Virgin Martyr, Dorothea is like Christ (who, in Christian theology, died for man's salvation) to the extent that she has "redeemed" Hircius and Spungius from the gallows. Like Judas, they betray their "maker" for lucre.

In A Papist in Arms, Dekker applies the Judas image directly to the Jesuits:

Of Him, that (whereso'ere hee's bred)
Is Enuies heart, and Treason's head,
For, England bout the neck hee clips,
And kisses. But with Iudas lips.⁴⁶

In Elizabethan and Jacobean England, political treason seems not to have been separable from its religious implications. If, as Lawrence Humphrey suggests, "the state and prosperitie of England, and the Preseruatiō of our Prince . . . is not by chaunce, nor by cunning,

nor our policy, but only by the merciful protection of God . . . ,"⁴⁷
 any design against that state would be interpreted as a treason against
 God. In Sir Thomas Wyat, Dekker more fully elaborates the Judas motif,
 and applies it to a political scene having unmistakable religious
 ramifications. The Protestant (and rebellious) Duke of Suffolk is
 betrayed by his servant, Holmes, to the officers of the Catholic
 Queen, Mary Tudor. Holmes has just brought "meat, bread, and wine"⁴⁸
 to the sequestered Duke:

Suffolk. I kisse thee in requittall of this loue.

Homes. And in requittall of so great a grace,
 I kisse your hand that deines to kisse my face.

Sheriff. So Iudas kist his Maister: ceaze the Duke.
 (II, iii, 35-8)

For his pains Holmes receives a thousand pounds in gold, which he
 buries. Subsequently he, like Judas, strangles himself.

In The Virgin Martyr, therefore, the Judas motif to which
 Dekker refers in portraying the relationship of Hircius and Spungius
 with their mistress might be expected to have similar religious
 significance.

This is especially true in light of Harpax' speech to the
 "loathsome" pair tempting them to the treachery:

When you are dead,
 Happy that man shall be can get a nayle,
 The paring--, nay the durt vnder the nayle
 Of any of you both, to say this durt
 Belong'd to Spungius or Hircius
 (IV, ii, 45-9).

In other words, for their betrayal of Dorothea, they will be remembered
 and their relics venerated.

One need not look far to establish the relevance of this parodic and explicit reference to the "Romish" practice of venerating saints' relics. John Calvin wrote a treatise against the practice, demonstrating that the mass of the reputed "relics" can by no manner of mathematical legerdemain be accounted for by the mass of saints and martyrs.⁴⁹ Richard James complains: "Should men have continued in their senses, and their reason, perfit of their creation, as God made them, they would neuer haue suffered Religion to be made so costly vnto their deuotion, for the kissing of old bones, shirts, smockes, muckingers, pantables and petticotes, or other such like raffe and trumpery."⁵⁰ By contrast the only "relics" which the Protestant martyr Anne Askewe and her "fellowship" had about them as they stood at the stake in Smithfield consisted in "a bundle of the sacred scriptures inclosed in their hearts."⁵¹

In John Bale's Kynge Johan, the Catholic "Sedition," who swears "by all these bonys and naylys," gives a long catalogue vulgarizing relic worship:

Here is fyrste a bone of the blyssyd trynyste,
 A dram of the tord of swete seynt Barnabe.
 Here is a fedder of good seynt Myhelles wyng,
 A toth of seynt Twyde, a pece of Davyds harpe string,
 The good blood of Haylys, and our blyssyd ladys mylke;
 A lowse of seynt Francis in the same crymsen sylke.
 A scabbe of seynt Job, a nayle of Adams too,
 A maggot of Moyses, with a fart of saynt Fandigo
⁵²
 Besydes other bonys and relics many one.

Harpax' temptation of Hircius and Spungius must be considered in the light of this definitive usage by Bale. We have seen already the relics of the "canonized" Roman matrons in The Virgin Martyr. In The Whore of Babylon, one of the cardinals complains of the defamation

of holy relics: "But now our very graues/Cannot saue dead men's bones from shame and bruizes" (I, i, 164-5).

Implicit in the reference to Hircius and Spungius' "relics" is the suggestion that they too may expect a "canonization" of a kind. Similarly, for example, the traitor "Sedition" in Kynge Johan anticipates becoming a saint: "Praye to me with candels," he ejaculates as he is dying, "for I am a saynt alreadye."⁵³ In The Whore of Babylon, a cardinal holds out the expectation of canonization to the Jesuit conspirators should one of them die in their "haught enterprize":

Giue him an office in yon Starr-chamber,
Or els a Saints place and Canonize him;
So Sanctifie the arm that takes her [Titania's] life,
That sylly soules may go on pilgrimage,
Only to kisse the Instrument (that strikes)
As a most reuerent relique (III, i, 43-8).

Elsewhere, Dekker defines the Jesuit as saint: "A Tyburne Traytor is a Saint in Rome."⁵⁴ The "Tyburne Traytors" in The Virgin Martyr are Hircius and Spungius. Their suggested "canonization" offers a distinct contrast to the sanctity of Dorothea, who, unlike the "Roman" matrons, is not a relic, but a "monument." In a saint's play, the canonization of Hircius and Spungius constitutes a qualification of the word "saint." The two reprobates are, as John Bale would say, like "Sedition," saints only according to "the corrupted spectacles of popish iudgements."⁵⁵

John Rawlinson suggests that Catholic traitors are "as good Saints, I dare say, as any are in hell."⁵⁶ Bale states similarly that ". . . many were worshipped here in earth for sayntes whose wretched sowles greuosllye crucyate in hell."⁵⁷ To the polemical Protestant mind, the Pope was the devil's vicar. In The Virgin

Martyr, it is perhaps not unjustified, therefore, to suggest that the world which the devil Harpax pervades is one "limited" by the kind of "syilly" Roman Catholic perceptions that will allow "sanctity" to Hircius and Spungius. In a passage that reminds one of Harpax' approach to the pair, Lawrence Humphrey equates the Pope and the Devil:

All is ours, quoth the Diuel, or rather the Pope, who the diuell hath lifted vp not onely to the Pinnacle of the Temple, as high and vniuersal Priest: but set and exalted vpon an high hil, and giuen to him all the kingdomes of the world, for his good seruice, in adoring and worshipping him, which he offered before to Christ, but he refused that his conditional offer, and now Antichrist hath accepted it.⁵⁸

Dekker, in The Whore of Babylon, in like fashion uses the motif of Christ's temptation by Satan, this time identifying Satan with the Empress of Babylon, who says:

. . . shew her [Titania] the world,
And say she shall haue all, so she will kneele
And doe vs reuerence (I, i, 105-7).

In The Virgin Martyr, Christeta, reconverted to true faith, refuses, like Titania, both the temptations and the coercion offered her by "Rome": "Not to be/The mistresse of the earth" (III, ii, 85-6), is her disdainful answer to Theophilus' appeal to her to abase herself before the image of Jupiter.

The "hell-ridden" portion of The Virgin Martyr, presided over by Harpax, manifested in the temporal authority of the idolatrous Dioclesian, and degraded in the parodic "canonization" of Hircius and Spungius, is described in the same language and accused of the same viciousness as that with which Protestant propaganda attacked papal Rome. Satan, who in Dekker's A Strange Horse-Race is "the Grand-Sophy

of the Satanicall Synagogue,"⁵⁹ is, in The Devils Answer to Pierce Pennylesse, "this Grand Sophy of the whore of Babylon."⁶⁰ In Dekker's mind, the powers of Antichrist appear to have been the same throughout history, whether they were manifested in the tyranny of imperial Rome, or in the errors of "Papistry." A play on a religious theme and in which the world belongs to the devil was inevitably topical, with the qualification that the devil was now a Roman Catholic.

According to Lawrence Humphrey, "it was a common rumour [during the reign of Henry IV], that Friars [had] familiarity with Divels"⁶¹ It is a rumor that Dekker evidently picked up. In If This Be Not a Good Play, various "hel-hounds" disguise themselves as friars and monks; the Catholic traitors "Ravillac" and "Faux" are denizens of hell; Dekker chooses for his site of satanic infection a monastery:

Thankes good Frier Alphege: yes, Shackle-soule will play
The task hee's set to: Diuels neuer idle lye:
Frier Rush! ha, ha: y'haue now an excellent quire,
To sing in hell, the Diuell and the Frier
(I, iii, 15-8).

In A Papist in Arms, Dekker speaks of another "diuel in the likenesse of a Frier"--Jacques Clement, the assassin. Dekker characterizes the Jesuit:

Some times hee's neither beast, nor man,
Nor Bird, nor a Leviathan,
But an Essentiall diuell, and varies
More cullors than the Rainbowe caries.⁶²

The "Essentiall" devil in The Virgin Martyr is Harpax, who stalks the play in the "cullor" of a secretary. If he has any sectarian bias, that bias could be interpreted in reference to the commonplace Protestant identification of "Papistry" with devilry.

The "hel-hound" in The Witch of Edmonton, for example, is quite obviously a "Papist." He appears, in the form of a dog, as Mother Sawyer's familiar, whose summons is: "If thou to death or shame pursue 'em/Sanctibecetur nomen tuum." This latter phrase is lifted directly from the Roman Catholic mass. So as to reinforce its significance, Mother Sawyer comments (with a corruption):

Contaminatur nomen tuum. I'm an expert scholar;
Speake Latine, or I know not well what language,
As well as the best of 'em (II, i, 176-8).

Significantly, in The Virgin Martyr, a play set in a Roman province, the only characters who speak Latin ("Assa Foetida"--III, iii, 66; "Puerilis"--III, iii, 96) are Hircius and Spungius.

Latin was, of course, the language of Roman Catholic Church ceremony. "Treason," in Kynge Johan declares that the "Romish" church has retained "Marry, nothyng [of Christ] at all, but the epystle and the gospell,/And that is in Latyne that no man should it knowe."⁶³ In the same play, the Catholics "Sedition" and "Dissimulation" identify their religious sympathies by greeting each other in the dialogue of the Latin mass. Dekker likely did not include Latin phrases in the speech of Hircius and Spungius without intending the kind of significance implied by Honeysuckle in Westward Hoe (1607): "No more Plurimus if you loue me, lattin whole-meates are now minc'd, and serude in for English Gallimafries: Let vs therefore cut out our vplandish Neates tongues, and talke like regenerate Brittaines" (II, i, 23). One of the kings in The Whore of Babylon tells Titania about the language that the Empress and her minions retail:

The language which she speakes, goes through the world,
To proue that all the world should stoope to her,

And, (saue your selfe) they doe; you thinke you leaue
 A rich inheritance, if to your sonnes,
 Our fluent tongue you leaue (nor need they more)
 Who speake and spend it well, cannot be poore
 (I, ii, 24-9).

In speaking Latin, Hircius and Spungius do lip-service to "Rome."

Similarly, but anachronistically, they speak the tongues of two of the Catholic kings in The Whore of Babylon, Spanish and French. The significance of the Spanish "Lanze prezado" and "Adelantado" has already been discussed. Hircius greets Angelo with the words: "Com a porte vou, com a porte vou, my petite garsoone" (II, ii, 198), and, as if to emphasize the significance of the allusion, Dekker has Angelo ask Spungius:

where did you waste your time
 When the religious man was on his knees,
 Speaking the heavenly language (II, i, 89-91).

Spungius replies: "Why fellow Angelo, we were speaking in pedlars French I hope." In Kynge Johan, the Catholic "Sedition" similarly speaks French to "Dissimulation": "Par me foye, mon amye, Je tote ad voutre plesance."⁶⁴ The use of these Romance languages by Hircius and Spungius, in view of their contemporality, would associate the pair with France and Spain--the two Catholic threats to England. Spungius even uses the Italian greeting, "Comesta, comesta" (II, iii, 197), placing him, like "Sedition," directly under the Pope at Rome.

H. D. Sykes calls Hircius and Spungius "moral foils" to Dorothea; Louise Clubb speaks of "the gravity of their moral function."⁶⁵ Certainly they embody the moral antitheses to the piety and purity of the virgin martyr. However, their function is curious for two reasons. First, they are really anachronisms in the saint's play,

and focus it upon contemporary England. In sixteenth and early seventeenth century England, the religious contention was not between Christians and pagans, but between Protestants and Catholics. The moral vision in this context is susceptible of interpretation in sectarian terms. Second, therefore, Hircius and Spungius are discernibly Catholic vices. They may be regarded as London reprobates who betray true religion to "Rome."

CHAPTER FIVE

"THE UNBLODIE SACRIFICE"

As we have seen, the betrayal of Dorothea by Hircius and Spungius in The Virgin Martyr can be likened to Judas' treachery against Christ, of which Lawrence Humphrey relates:

I conclude . . . with the terrible example and rueful end of Iudas the traytour of Iesus Christ his master, forsaken of God and of man Two notes we may gather out of Beda and R. Holcot, both our countrymen, the first the cause, the second the time: the cause was money in Iudas that moved him to betray his Master, which fault of Iudas, saith Beda, many this day abhor as cruel and wicked, but they take not heede of it: the other is the time, when he betraied him euen when he had taken his Supper, he went out and betraied him. Beware al traytours of Iudas ende, beware and auoide the cause, that is hope of silver, and of a better change, his chaunge was no Royall Exchāge, but instead of his Apostleship, a rope. For we at this time are no lesse thẽ Iudas was both corporally fed with the plentiful prouision at Gods hand, and also spiritually refreshed at the table of the lorde, and with the right use of sacraments.¹

Elsewhere, as has been noted, Humphrey calls Judas, forsaken as he was of man and God, tragic. His tragedy was that he sold his maker at the table of the Last Supper and received death for his pains. His original betrayal of the body and blood of Christ for lucre is the prototypical perversion of "the right use of the sacraments."

In the passage of The Virgin Martyr where the betrayal of Dorothea is most explicitly like the betrayal of Christ, Angelo is upbraiding Hircius and Spungius for their avarice:

Hirc. . . . will not any foole take me for a
 wiseman now, seeing me draw out of the pit of my treasury
 this little god with his belly full of gold.

Spung. And this full of the same meate out of my ambrey.

Ange. That gold will melt to poyson.

Spung. Poyson, wud it wud, whole pintes for healths shall down my
 throate.

Hirc. Gold poyson! there's neuer a she-thrasher in Caesarea that
 liues on the flaile of money will call it so.

Ange. Like slaues you sold your soules for golden drosse,
 Bewitching her to death, who stept betweene
 You, and the gallowes (II, iii, 210-21).

The scene is significant for its allusions to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The "little god with his belly full of gold" sounds like an idol. We have seen that "to serue God in an Image, is a work of the flesh, and altogether agreeth to the vile corruption of nature." John Foxe says of the Catholic Eucharist that, of a "wholesome sacrament" the "Papists" make a "perilous idol."² He refers, of course to the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, which postulates a substantial change of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ after consecration: the bread is an "idol," because God is worshipped in a material entity.³ The author of The Abuses of The Romish Church states the customary Protestant opinion rather graphically: "A Priest of Lorraine holding a Pixe or boxe full of vnconsecrated singing Cakes, (as they tearme them) shuffled them together, saying, yee little Whoresons, ye little Whoresons, which of you will bee God to day?"⁴

The "little god with his belly full of gold" is referred to by Spungius as "meate." This focuses the metaphor upon transubstantiation, the fleshly or carnal immanence of Christ in the Sacrament. So as to

dispel all doubt of his meaning, Dekker has Spungius keep his "meate" in an "ambrey" which is, according to Funk and Wagnalls New Standard Dictionary, "a closet or niche, in or near the altar, for the sacred vessels." Thus, to refer back to Humphrey's definition of the two aspects (money the cause; the Last Supper the occasion) of Judas' betrayal of Christ, we find them both in Hircius' and Spungius' treachery. They betray Dorothea for money, but the blood money which they receive is described in a mixed metaphor that has unmistakable Eucharistic implications.⁵ As Humphrey has invoked the example of Judas and the "right use of the sacraments" as a warning to England against "Popish" treason (both political and doctrinal) so does Dekker freight the betrayal of Dorothea with the same doctrinal significance.

The "right use of the sacraments" was a central point of contention at the time of the Reformation, and the nature of the Eucharist was debated at immense length. In 1559, a convocation of "popish clergy" declared:

- I. That in the sacrament of the altar, by virtue of the words of Christ, duly spoken by the priest, is present realiter, under the kinds of bread and wine, the natural body of Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, and also his natural blood.
- II. That after the consecration there remains not the substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance but the substance of God and man.
- III. That in the mass is offred the true body of Christ, and his true blood, a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead.⁶

To the Protestant mind, this position appeared at once incomprehensible and blasphemous: it represents the perpetuation of the tragic crucifixion of Christ. Richard James attacks the Catholic concept of the Eucharist, declaiming that Christ is "still crucified by the degenerate

Romans in their prostitute sacrament;"⁷ Lady Jane Grey asks: "Wilt thou torment again, rend and tear the most precious body of our Saviour Christ with thy bodily and fleshly teeth?"⁸

On the other hand, the Protestants held a symbolic, or commemorative view of the Sacrament: "The bread and wine in which we communicate, is in Spirit and Truth; and forth-shewing, and remembrance"⁹ The distinction between what Protestants saw as the carnal, sacrificial vision of the Catholic church and the sacramental, spiritual view of the Reformed religion, is central at once to the theology of The Virgin Martyr and to the "tragedy" of the play.

It is the world of sacrifice, as we have seen, that The Virgin Martyr denies. The Christians with whom we are asked to sympathize allow Pagan Rome "nor sacrifice, nor altar"; Dorothea refuses to "sacrifice" to the Gods; Antoninus' worship of Dorothea in the jargon of sacrifice is revealed to be a mistaken and carnal perception. It is to those whose perceptions are bound to this carnality that The Virgin Martyr bequeathes the "tragedy" that Dorothea transcends. But, in Protestant Reformation polemics, the carnal vision, the world of tragedy, was equated with the doctrines of Catholicism, or the abuses of these doctrines: the temporal power of the Pope, the veneration of icons, the sacrificial view of the sacrament.

As we have seen, Hircius and Spungius in The Virgin Martyr constitute a definitive comment upon the paganism of the "Rome" that the play decries. They appear to engage in all the "sins" that Protestant propagandists were wont to identify exclusively with "Papistry"; moreover, they do exhibit certain evidences that they are in fact "Romish."

They are the incorporation of carnality--lust, gluttony, greed, drunkenness--in the play, and as such represent the world of tragedy and of Roman Catholicism that The Virgin Martyr denies. But the carnal abuses with which Protestants upbraided Catholicism were not merely sinful practices. They were reputed to be the inevitable consequences of doctrines that were carnal in their very conceptions. That the doctrinal significance of Hircius and Spungius in The Virgin Martyr serves as a complement to their practical function has already been suggested by the qualification of their betrayal of Dorothea in "Judas" imagery with its irrevocable Eucharistic ramifications.

The author of The Abuses of The Romish Church, who appears to have had at his disposal a wealth of anecdotes, relates of a "gallant" of his acquaintance: "One in an Inne laughing at those which spoke of Christ, offered to sell his soule for a cup of Wine: one having bought it of him, the Devill being among them like a Swaggerer, bought it at the second hand" ¹⁰ The situation in The Virgin Martyr is similar. Harpax, a devil disguised this time as a secretary instead of a "Swaggerer," buys the souls of Hircius and Spungius with an offer of wine, women, and treasure. He says: if "you have mony, its ten to one but Ile bring [the devil] to Some Tauerne to you or other" (III, iii, 162-4).

We have seen the kind of "mony" that they earn. Of the "wine" and "women" we learn from Spungius that "In the Tauerne you/are cousend with paltry Wine, in a bawdy-house by a painted Whore" (III, iii, 12-3). In The Whore of Babylon, the Empress of Babylon has the same commodities to offer. Her envoy, the Pope, whose "voyce," "like to thunder," "shakes kingdomes" (I, ii, 117-8) tries to win over Titania:

Our aged mother twentie times an hower,
 Would breathe her wholesome kisses on your cheeke,
 And from her own cup you should drinke that wine
 Which none but Princes tast, to make you looke
 With cheerefull countenance (I, ii, 137-41).

To the extent that Hircius and Spungius embody the abuses of the Whore of Babylon, their sins are relatable to, specifically, the Roman Catholic Church. The "painted whore" is like the Whore of Babylon who, as we know, is "sanguin-coloured,"¹¹ and unlike Truth, who in The Whore of Babylon is "not painted" but "simple, plaine and homely" (III, ii, 2-12). In his Dreame, Dekker says of the Catholic Church: "Religion (all this while) a Garment wore,/Stayn'd like a Painters Apron, and turn'd Whore."¹² John Bale describes the Church of Rome as a "painted spirituality";¹³ the key word is "painted."

It is only in the qualifying context of the "paltry wine" that the "painted Whore" assumes special significance, however. Earlier in The Virgin Martyr, Angelo had reprimanded Hircius and Spungius: "For blood of grapes you sold the widowes food" (II, i, 122). The "paltry wine" that Spungius drinks so unremittingly is therefore "blood of grapes." The "blood" of the grapes is like the "meate" of the little god with his belly full of gold: it is an allusion to the Eucharist.¹⁴ In The Whore of Babylon, Dekker had played upon the same allusions. The King of France, having just referred to Bacchus and drawn a similitude between blood and grapes, declares: "The god of grapes is mine, whose bounteous hand/In clusters deales his gifts to every land" (I, ii, 101-2). The "god of grapes" is again Bacchus, whose wine the Empress uses to "endote" her victims. But, in the given religious context, a quibble makes the "god of wine" the transubstantiate wine, which in Catholic Eucharistic doctrine is in fact the body and blood of Christ.

In the Catholic Eucharist, moreover, the wine is not only "blood of grapes," but it is also "paltry," inferior, diluted. The New Catholic Encyclopedia states: "Furthermore, the priest must mix a little water with the wine. This is in accord with the Oriental custom that Jesus no doubt followed" ¹⁵ It is a custom that apparently bothered many Protestants. Richard James, primarily objecting to the administration of the Sacrament in one kind only, calls upon the "Romanists" to give the Eucharistic cup to the laity "Though never so much dasht with water." ¹⁶

Howsoever much "dasht with water," the wine of the Catholic Eucharist (if we are to believe the slanders of Protestant polemicists) appears to have been much in demand: "Priests upon a thousand altars offer many flagons of wine, as they pretend, for the people, as well as themselves: but they drinke it all themselves." ¹⁷ John Bale's "Sedition," who is "vengeance drye," muses: "I would I were now at Rome at the sygne of the cuppe." ¹⁸ However, as we discover, the cup of Rome, of the Whore of Babylon, is filled not with nourishing wine, but with poison, with "abominations and fornications." As one concerned Protestant writer counsels: "neither once touch the poysoned Cuppe, though it be all of gold or glittering." ¹⁹

The image of poison in gold was a popular one among Protestants, who applied it to the splendour of Rome qualified by the "error" of Romish doctrine. Dekker himself uses the image. The Subprior in If This Be Not a Good Play complains of his fiend-infested monastery: "My wholesome cup is poysond, it flowes or'e/With mans damnation (gold,) drinke there no more" (III, ii, 65-6). More specifically with reference

to the Eucharist, the image appears in The Whore of Babylon. The Empress, who "with her owne hand/Will fill thee wine out of a golden bowle," says:

The drinke euen in that golden cup, they sweare
Is wine sophisticated, that does runne
Low on the lees of error, which in taste,
Is sweete and like the neate and holsome iuyce
Of the true grape, but tis ranke poyson down
(IV, iv, 44-8).

The wine is "sophisticated," that is, adulterated.²⁰ It is adulterated first with water, but also, and more important, with errors. An implicit quibble in the word "sophisticated" makes the errors the errors of sophistry: "The friars with their charming sophistry threw such a dark mist over the universal world, that superstition could not be known for superstition, nor idolatry for idolatry."²¹ One of these errors having direct reference to wine is the error of transubstantiation: the wine of the Catholic Eucharist has a "foreign body" in it, it is "sophisticated" with the body and blood of Christ.

This brings us once again to The Virgin Martyr and the "little god"--a palpable Eucharist allusion. His gold, Angelo warns "will melt to poyson." Spungius declares that he will drink it anyway: "Poyson, wud it wud, whole pintes for healths shall down my throat" (II, iii, 214-15). Imbedded as it is in a Eucharist allusion, the gold as poison assumes a Eucharistic significance.

Moreover, the use of the image in this context, and in The Whore of Babylon, constitutes a comment upon what I take to be a crucial passage in The Virgin Martyr. Antoninus says of the love that Artemia has offered him:

Yet poyson still is poyson
Though drunke in gold, and all these flattering glories

To me, ready to starue, a painted banquet
And no essentiall foode (I, i, 420-3).²²

As we have seen, Antoninus' hunger is a spiritual one. It cannot be satisfied by the carnal love that Artemia has to offer, nor by the kind of illusory love that Antoninus has for Dorothea. Only when his love becomes spiritualized does Antoninus find fulfillment. The carnal alternative offers him but "a painted banquet/And no essentiall foode." On the other hand, the fruit that Dorothea sends to Theophilus is heavenly food, it is, as Theophilus says, "essential." In contrast with this "essential" food, and as an antidote, Harpax offers Theophilus a "drinke" which is, by implication, poisonous (V, i, 131).

Daniel Featley says of the Eucharist: "The Lords Supper essentially includeth such a perfect refection, and nourishment of the soule, as bread and wine are of the body."²³ Imbedded as it is in a image (poyson in gold) that Dekker uses elsewhere in The Virgin Martyr and consistently in The Whore of Babylon to refer to the Eucharist, and complementing the duality that The Virgin Martyr as a whole manifests, this speech of Antoninus is a Eucharist allusion. It is couched in theological language.

Artemia's love is "no essentiall foode." The Random House Dictionary qualifies "essence" as being "especially, a spiritual or immaterial entity." John Foxe complains of the "popish distinction between substance and essence."²⁴ According to St. Augustine, "Properly God is called an essence (Trin. 7.5 10) to whom existence itself, whence is derived the term essence, most especially and truly belongs."²⁵ In the Eucharist, it is "God" who is received; Christ said, "Take and eat, for this is my body." The Catholics, advancing

transubstantiation as they do, claim that they receive Christ substantially. But transubstantiation, by making Christ a substance, and therefore mutable, subverts his nature which, as he is God, is essential. Therefore, in the Protestant sacramental view, the Catholic Eucharist is "no essentiall foode." John Bale, from this point of view, states: ". . . the substance of that most goodly refection [the Eucharist] lieth not in the mouth eating, nor yet in the belly feeding, though they be necessary, but only in the spiritual or soul eating."²⁶

On the other hand, to the Protestant mind, the Catholic Eucharist is a "painted banquet." If, after transubstantiation, "bread and wine do not remain," there can be no physical nourishment in the sacrament. If however, as Richard James declares, "transubstantiation is mere alchimie,"²⁷ then Christ is not present in the sacrament either. It consists, by the declaration of the Catholics, not of bread and wine; nor, by virtue of their error, of Christ's flesh and blood. From this logic, the Protestant Richard James concludes "when we thus eat, we must say that we eat nothing."²⁸ Lawrence Humphrey recalls seeing a pageant of "Papists" carrying banners with "a painted Christ hanging on the Crosse, a Chalice with a painted cake."²⁹ And John Foxe declares: ". . . that which the old [primitive] Church of Rome did ever take to be a mystery, they turn into a blind mist of mere accidents, to blear people's eyes, making them believe they see what they see not, and not to see what they see"³⁰ In the Protestant view, the Catholic Eucharist is a "painted banquet" because it purports to be what it is not, and denies what it is.

The speech of Antoninus, therefore, is a Eucharist metaphor that comments upon the whole of The Virgin Martyr. Not only does it

reflect the inadequacy of the carnal vision, but it identifies that vision with the Catholic Church. The hunger that the carnal vision--or the Catholic Eucharist--fails to satisfy is fulfilled by "spiritual" food.

Thus, Hircius and Spungius are at once the representatives of carnality in The Virgin Martyr and the representatives of the Catholic Church. They themselves are the two elements of the Catholic Eucharist: the wine and the flesh. In the Acts and Monuments, John Foxe, having described the "compleat Catholic," notes the absence of the one thing needful: "Now look upon this definition, and tell me good reader, what faith or spirit, or what working of the Holy Ghost, in all this doctrine, is to be required."³¹ In The Virgin Martyr, it is spiritual salvation that answers the depravity of temporal Rome and carnal Hircius and Spungius. It is a similar duality that subverts the "tragedy" of the play: where a spiritual realm is offered as an alternative, the failures of the temporal realm are rendered less significant.

In a provocative and unelaborated statement, Lawrence Michel relates the Sacrament to the question of tragedy: "What of the Sacraments--Incarnation on a human scale--God's coming down, and staying down, accommodating Himself to us, effecting the tragically supposed impossible marriage of the spirit and the flesh."³² To the extent that The Virgin Martyr is a Eucharistic play which renounces--quite actively and positively--the world of the flesh in favour of a spiritual world, it may be considered in the light of this claim. Quite obviously, in The Virgin Martyr, the spirit and the flesh, far from

being married, are divorced. According to Michel, then, the play should be the product of a tragic vision.

As we have seen, tragedy in The Virgin Martyr occurs only in the fallen world, the world of Rome, the world of Hircius and Spungius. This is the world that Francis Rous describes:

But man is carnall, defiled by a carnall Generation, and therefore can neyther know nor give vnto God a Spirituall Service. Therefore it is needfull that the Supreme Spirit, teach this carnall man a spirituall service, which his carnality cannot find out. Yea, farther it were needfull he did give him a spirituall vnderstanding, to discerne and approve a Spirituall Service, being taught vnto him which flesh and blood cannot doe. So wee see that there is need of a spirituall Doctrine, and a spirituall mind.³³

In other words man is at war against the flesh. This carnality, Rous argues, is what keeps Roman Catholics in a world of reprobation.

William Perkins declares: "A Reprobate may in truth be made partaker of all that is contained in the Religion of the Church of Rome: and a Papist by his Religion cannot goe beyond [sic] a Reprobate."³⁴

The Protestant vision, then, allows a tragic world--one in which, time, fortune, and death operate--exclusive of spiritual self-realization. However, that this world is held in contempt subverts the elevation of human striving that tragedy posits:

Can any thing subject to the frailty of time bee happy? no, not possible: happines is not of this world: we may be in the way of happinesse, when by a good life wee are in the way to heaven, but cannot here be happy, happinesse being to expresse onely the ioyes of eternitie; for no pleasures can reach happinesse, that stoope so low as time. Then can it not bee due to wickednesse, whose grouelling earthly mind never looks so high but stickes fast in the imagination of the vile pleasures of the world.³⁵

The harvest of allegiance to the carnal world is, as Dioclesian and Hircius and Spungius discover, "Pensiveness, Griefe of mind and bodye,

Affliction, Sorrow, Discontent, Choler, Enuy, Iudignation [sic], Despaire, Reuenge, and the like."³⁶ These are the passions of tragedy. In The Whore of Babylon, the harvest of allegiance to the Empress of Babylon is similarly "tragic," consisting in "confusion, tyranie, vproares" (I, ii, 196). However, in a context such as The Virgin Martyr, the spiritual contradiction of tragedy makes these "vproares" merely ridiculous. The Protestant vision, then, does not marry the flesh and the spirit, but it denies tragedy by renouncing the carnal realm in which tragedy occurs. To the extent that it does, it fails to grasp the significance of the Incarnation, especially if, as Michel suggests, the sacraments are the Incarnation on a human scale.

The Virgin Martyr excoriates sacrifice. This is because the Protestant vision cannot assimilate the idea of the "unbloudy sacrifice" that Roman Catholicism advanced as the nature of the repeated offering up of Christ. William Perkins declares: "So then, the Papist when he supposeth that there may be an vnbloudie sacrifice, in effect he saith thus much, there is a sacrifice, which is no sacrifice."³⁷ A sacrifice is a work of the flesh, not of the spirit. Protestant dualism seems unable to recognize the ritual efficacy of participatory sacrifice. Instead, it regards this sacrifice as the perpetuation of the tragedy of Christ's crucifixion. Rather, it is the assimilation, by ritual participation, of the tragedy, implicit in which is renewal. The sacrificial Christian approach to tragedy overcomes tragedy by re-enacting it; the sacramental Christian vision is commemorative only, and therefore requires only an "intellectual" apprehension of the fact of redemption. In neither case is "tragedy

the result, but the recurrence of Christ's "tragedy" in the sacrificial Mass of the Catholics constitutes an "unbloudie" recurrence of the redemptive act. By positing a flesh-spirit dichotomy in mutual antagonism, Protestantism, or any kind of dualism, renders the flesh superfluous. It certainly is in The Virgin Martyr.

An analogy, and, in the case of the Eucharist, more than an analogy, may be invoked. In explaining the "birth of tragedy," Friedrich Nietzsche postulates the concurrence of two complementary elements which he calls the Dionysiac and the Apollonian. The Dionysiac manifests the will--the physical and affective energy--of the tragic experience; the Apollonian represents the ritualization or formalization of that energy into a meaningful structure. Overextension of the Dionysiac leads to chaos; overextension of the Apollonian leads to intellectualization which, devoid of an affective basis, becomes sterile. It is manifested, for example, in what the Protestant John Coldwell demonstrates when he says of the Catholic Eucharist: "they confounded the sign with the thing signified."³⁸ The Apollonian element alone is like the symbol without the substance; the Protestant Eucharist, similarly, consists merely of "signs." The same is manifested in Perkins' failure to understand the "unbloudie sacrifice." The neo-Platonic mind has lost the conception of immanence. It is the failure to comprehend the "unbloudie sacrifice" that caused Protestants to regard any sacrifice as "bloody," and the Catholic sacrificial vision as therefore "tragic."

Thus, rather than a complementary dichotomy, or continuum, a mutually exclusive duality is established. Neo-Platonism, for example, "recoiled from any process of finding God in a world which it could see

sinking faster and faster into iniquity. God was not in the world. He was transcendent. His realm was utterly removed from this world" ³⁹ And Lady Jane Grey rejoices that she is at last going to be freed from "the long imprisonment of this vile mass of clay, my sinful body" ⁴⁰ Catholics were much less contemptuous of the flesh than the Reformation Protestants: at least in Hrotswitha's "virgin martyr" plays, the body is still the temple of the soul. God as ideal--and not as the incarnated Christ, who re-effects the union of flesh and spirit--asks a response that denies the world. Therefore, in so far as the Eucharistic relevance of The Virgin Martyr is defined by the renunciation of the carnal vision, the play manifests a Protestant point of view. Not merely tragedy, but specifically, the Catholic sacrificial vision that Protestants thought supported tragedy, is denied.

Parallel to the duality of flesh and spirit which The Virgin Martyr invokes is the accessory duality of reprobation and salvation in the play. Again, this doctrinal position may be referred to in defining the "Protestantism" of the renunciation of tragedy in the play.

The function of Hircius and Spungius in The Virgin Martyr is to provide not only a vulgarization of the carnal alternative to the spiritual lesson, but to define a fallen world in antithesis to the possibility of salvation. They are "base rogues," "rascall beggars," "converted Rascalls"--reprobates who for their depravity are damned. And though they are called "converted Rascalls," their message is that they cannot be converted.

William Perkins, who claims to understand the key to recognizing damnation and election, defines the relationship of the carnality that Hircius and Spungius manifest to the problem of degeneracy: ". . . for this is the end of excommunication [that is, from Christ, by reprobation], that the flesh, that is, the part vnregenerate, may be destroyed: and the spirit, that is the part regenerate, may be kept alive in the daie of the Lord."⁴¹ In The Virgin Martyr, it is the flesh, the part unregenerate that is "destroyed," in the persons of Hircius and Spungius who are not simply depraved, but are depraved "Christians": they are "motley Christians," "half fac'd Christians," "halfe Pagans and halfe Christians." Perkins has noted elsewhere that, in his view of the matter, the Christian "sect" bound by its doctrines to reprobation is Roman Catholicism. Moreover, we have seen the association of the Catholic Church--in the Protestant estimation--with carnality, with the part "vnregenerate."

In the play, the most correctly "tragic" elements occur in the world of time, carnality, and earthly power. Similarly, it may be said that the occasion of tragedy is supplied by reprobation. Perkins draws this comparison: the reprobate "is very like a man vpon a Racke, who cryeth and roreth out for very paine, yet cannot desire his tormentor to ease him of his paine."⁴² This is an apt metaphor for the tragic situation, not unlike the predicament of Prometheus, who must suffer perpetually. Nevertheless, the pain of Prometheus is, from the point of view of the humanist at least, a magnificent torment: it represents man's self-assertion in spite of the determinations of the gods.

In The Virgin Martyr, Hircius and Spungius are the characters whose sufferings cause them to cry and roar "with very paine." Having scourged Dorothea to no effect, they are themselves beaten by Theophilus, for example, and both "shreeke" and "roare." However, the realization of the way to escape the "racke" of their misfortunes is denied them: they cannot recognize the way out of their dilemma, even though it is shown them.

Previously, as they wandered threadbare and disconsolate, they were "consoled" by Harpax:

Beat not your breasts, teare not your hair in madnes,
Those dayes shall come agen, be rulde by me
And better (marke me) better (III, iii, 125-7).

The beating of breasts and tearing of hair are peculiarly tragic responses to human suffering. In this instance, however, they are used parodically: the occasion of Hircius and Spungius' tragic response is the abatement of their supply of "wine, weomen, and mony."

William Tyndale has described the reaction that Dekker is here exploiting:

For the old man and corrupt nature, the more he is forbidden and kept under the law, is the more offended and displeased therewith, forasmuch as he cannot pay that which is required of the law. For sin is his nature, and of himself he cannot but sin. Therefore is the law death to him, torment and martyrdom. Not that the law is evil, but because that the evil nature cannot suffer that which is good, and cannot abide that the law should require of him any good thing: like as a sick man cannot suffer that a man should desire of him, to run, to leap, and to do other deeds of a whole man.⁴³

This appears to involve the kind of contradiction from which tragedy arises: the reprobate is required to assent to that to which, by his nature, he cannot. The qualification, however, is that being evil as he is, he is to be despised, unlike the tragic hero for whom we have

admiration. His suffering is as unregenerate as himself. The religious context subverts what would otherwise be a tragic situation. Thus, in The Virgin Martyr, the contradiction between the nature of Hircius and Spungius and what is required of them renders them "tragic," but, at the same time, contemptible.

Not only is the reprobation of Hircius and Spungius contemptible, but it also appears to be inescapable. To their "qualms of conscience," which are insufficient in themselves to redeem them, Harpax answers with cold logic:

Drones, Asses, blinded Moles, that dare not thrust
Your armes out to catch Fortune, say you fall off,
It must be done, you are conuerted Rascalls,
And that once spred abroad, why euery slaue
Will kicke you, call you motley Christians
And halfe fac'd Christians (IV, ii, 28-33).

This is the same approach that Satan makes to the Christian in Perkins' A Treatise tending unto a declaration whether a man be in the estate of damnation or in the estate of grace:

Sathan: O vile helhound, thou art my slaue, and my vassall, why then shakest thou off my yoke.

Christian: By nature I was thy vassal, but Christ hath redeemed me.

Sathan: Christ redeemeth no Reprobates, such as thou art.

Christian: I am no Reprobate.

Sathan: Thou art a Reprobate, for thou shalt be condemned.

Christian: Death hath lost his sting by Christ's death: and vnto me it shall be nothing els but a passage vnto everlasting life.⁴⁴

Unlike this "Christian," however, even though Dorothea has "redeemed" them both from the gallows, Hircius and Spungius are still unregenerate. They have failed to recognize the truth of their redemption, implicit in

Christ's sacrifice. In this, they are unlike Theophilus, who, through the gracious revelation of "a power divine" that has "Illumined all my soule" (V, i, 168), is able to ward off the devil, using only the armour of the Christian cross:

Harpax. Hold.

Theoph. Not for Caesar.

Harpax. But for me thou shalt.

Theoph. Thou art no Twin to him [Angelo] that last was heere.
You powers whom my soule bids me reuerence,
Guard me: what art thou?

Harpax. I'me thy Master.

Theoph. Mine.

Harpax. And thou my euerlasting slaue; that Harpax
Who hand in hand hath led thee to thy Hell
Am I.

Theoph. Auant (V, i, 123-9).

Dorothea, who "can no myracles worke"⁴⁵ (IV, i, 176-9), although she is the instrument or occasion of both Antoninus' and Theophilus' self-recognition, is ultimately impotent to redeem Hircius and Spungius, however strenuous her efforts. Angelo himself is ineffectual in trying to convert them. They cannot be converted by the powerfulest moral good, for they still want grace. Their reprobation appears irrevocable.

Willard Farnham relates theological reprobation to the origin of tragedy:

The power of Fortune came into being because of Adam's and Eve's disobedience to God, as Boccaccio explains in his first story. This Fall of Man made possible the later falls of princes. Through the first Fall all miseries entered this world of ours, all misfortunes, all those things by which men post along the road toward inescapable death: in a word, all the "mockery of Fortune."⁴⁶

Tragedy occurs in the fallen world. However, Christ's death, in Christian theology, has "redeemed" man from that fallen world, giving him the possibility of escaping tragic death. It is only when that possibility is a lie, or when the possibility is held out but the means of achieving the promise of the possibility are denied, that tragedy is tenable.

In a passage that has become a commonplace on the subject, W.H. Auden distinguishes between Christian and non-Christian "tragedy":

To sum up in advance, the conclusions I shall try to demonstrate are these: first, Greek tragedy is the tragedy of necessity; i.e., the feeling aroused in the spectator is "What a pity it had to be this way"; Christian tragedy is the tragedy of possibility, "What a pity it was this way when it might have been otherwise"; secondly, the hubris which is the flaw in the Greek hero's character is the illusion of a man who knows himself strong and believes that nothing can shake that strength, while the corresponding Christian sin of Pride is the illusion of a man who knows himself weak but believes he can by his own efforts transcend that weakness and become strong.⁴⁷

There are two statements here interesting for their mutual contradiction. Auden claims that the emotional response of the spectator to "Christian tragedy" is "What a pity it was this way when it might have been otherwise." On the other hand, he declares that the Christian tragic hero suffers from a Pride that causes him to aspire to self-determination. If, however, the Pride which arouses man's urge to self-creation--his free will--is ineffectual in making him strong, there is no possibility that "it might have been otherwise." The failure of such a man is tragic only from the humanist's point of view, in which case the question becomes: "What a pity it was this way when it should have been otherwise."

The Christian man, knowing himself weak, immerses himself in the will of God. To do otherwise is to sin and the consequences of failure then become the manifestations of divine justice. To say "What a pity it was this way when it might have been otherwise" and to retain the Christian frame of reference is impossible. Whatever happens in the Christian vision is the result of the working of Providence. Tragedy is only possible when the "Christian" vision violates man's sense of divine justice. Where the possibility of redemption is held out to man and he fails to take it, he is merely foolish. However, when the possibility is offered, but its fulfillment denied in spite of all that man intends or can do, man then becomes tragic. But he is, as in Greek tragedy, the victim of necessity. There is only one kind of tragedy--the tragedy of necessity.

However, even in the Christian, or more specifically, the Calvinist view of necessity, tragedy is overcome. William Perkins describes the problem: ". . . the reprobate knoweth that there is a God, and that this God must be worshipped: come to particulars, who God is? what a one hee is? howe hee must be worshipped? Here his knowledge faileth him, and he is altogether vncertaine what to do to please God."⁴⁸ If reprobation is necessary, this scene appears to violate man's expectations of divine justice: the knowledge of what is required, and the will to perform it are useless in attaining it. The possibility is held out, but the means are denied. The Calvinist rationalizes the situation by positing the goodness of God, and the consent of the reprobate to sin.

Thus, while Auden's distinction is fallacious, it does contain implications that suggest another distinction between the Catholic and

Protestant approaches to tragedy. The Protestant rationalization posits a justifiable necessity; the Catholic rationalization advances a possibility that gives to man the means of overcoming tragedy. To the extent that these different positions--each overcoming the sense of tragedy--are definable, they offer another means of identifying the theology of The Virgin Martyr.

The Catholic Desiderius Erasmus defines free will: "By freedom of the will we understand in this connection the power of the human will whereby man can apply to or turn away from that which leads unto eternal salvation."⁴⁹ Man has within himself the power to work towards salvation. The Protestant Martin Luther, on the other hand, declares intransigently: ". . . with regard to God, and in all things pertaining to salvation and damnation, man has no free will but is a captive, servant and bonds slave, either to the will of God, or to the will of Satan."⁵⁰ To the extent that The Virgin Martyr opposes the Catholic doctrine of merits, to the extent that Dioclesian's imperial will is decried, and to the extent that the "tragic" portion of the play is reprobate, the play denies the possibilities that the will offers.

In The Virgin Martyr, Spungius takes note of the problem of free will versus necessity:

Well: the thred [sic] of my life is drawne through the needle of necessity, whose eye looking vpon my lowsie breeches, cryes out it cannot mend 'em: which so pricketh the linings of my body, and those are Heart, Lights, Lungs, Guts, and Midriff, that I beg on my knees to haue Atropos (the Tailer to the destinies) to take her sheares and cut my thred in two, or to heate the Iron goose of Mortalitie, and to presse me to death (III, iii, 20-6).

Earlier, his cohort, Hircius, had confusedly alluded to the three Fatal Sisters: "How now Angelo how ist? how ist? what thred spins that

whore Fortune vpon her wheele now." Spungius' speech manifests the predicament of the Catholic in the Calvinist universe: he is denied the possibility of mending the breeches of his being. He is preordained to reprobation and to death. In this, he is much to be pitied. To the Catholic (who believes in free will), the Calvinist context of necessity makes man's good works and good intentions tragic. To the Calvinist, good works and good intentions, as a means to salvation, are still "tragic," but, because mistaken, contemptible. As Lady Jane Grey warned the apostate Thomas Harding: ". . . thou say, thou doest it for good intent. O sink of sin! O child of perdition! Dost thou dream therein of good intent, where thy conscience beareth thee witness of God's threatened wrath against thee?"⁵¹ In The Whore of Babylon, one of Dekker's antagonists, Cardinal Como, defends the opposite position of the Catholics (for ulterior motives):

All knees bowed low vnto vs: why was this?

 It was because (wise Pylots) we from rockes,
 And gulfes infernall, safely set on shore
 Mens soules at yonder hauen: or (beeing shipwrackt)
 Strong lines forth cast we, suffering none to sinke
 To that Abisse, which some hold bottomlesse
 (I, i, 151-63).

Thereafter, Hircius and Spungius, ostensibly exercising their prerogative of free choice, ally themselves with Harpax. Very clearly, what determines their choice is mere carnality. Of this type of freedom, William Tyndale says:

Now when we say, every man hath his free will to do what him lusteth, I say verily that men do what they lust. Notwithstanding, to follow lusts is not freedom, but captivity and bondage. If God open any man's wits to make him feel in his heart that lusts and appetites are damnable, and give him power to hate and resist them, then he is free even "with the freedom wherewith Christ maketh free," and hath power to do the will of God.⁵²

The motive of the reprobate's free will is carnality; the consequence of free will is tragedy.

The kind of tragedy that free will entails is definitively outlined in Negri de Bassano's A certayne tragedie entituled Freewyl.

In the "Dedication" to the English edition, H. Cheeke tells Lady Cheynie of Toddington:

I know how much your Ladyshyp doth abhorre the vayne superstition of wicked papistrie, and therefore I nothing suspect your good acceptyng of this booke, wherein is set foorth in manner of a Tragedie, the deuylishe devise of the Popishe religion, which pretendeth holynesse onely for gayne, and treadeth Christe under foote, to set up wicked Mammon. The papistical opinion of freewill is here lykewyse excellently confuted, and our election manifestly prooued to proceede from the free grace of God, whereby the filthy bunche of Popishe good workes is cut off, and made good for nothing but the fire.⁵³

The "manifest proof" of free grace consists first in the degradation of the "tragedy" into lengthy polemics in which the subject is debated, and ultimately in the decapitation of "King Freewyll," who is, like Dioclesian, the ruler of the "Province of Humane operations," by "Lady Grace Justifying." The significant fact is that Freewyll is the tragic figure in this, and that he is a Catholic. These are the terms in which I have been trying to relate the "tragedy" of The Virgin Martyr: the tragedy that Dorothea supersedes is Roman Catholic, as is the religion that persecutes her.

As we have seen, in The Virgin Martyr, the "tragedy" of the play is subverted when the Christian martyr, in her faith and humility, overcomes the conqueror of the world. Temporality is transcended. However, the identification of that temporality with the Rome of the Papacy and the "abuses" of the Catholic Church skews the relevance of the "tragedy" that is enacted. When the nature of what is most correctly "tragic" in

the play is examined, moreover, it is discovered that the tragedy has relation to the sacrificial vision and the "illusion" of free will--both matters of Roman Catholic doctrine. The Christian vision in any case transcends tragedy: in The Virgin Martyr, the denial of tragedy is specifically Protestant.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION: "THE TRUTH IS BUT A SHADOW"

The "Prologue" to The Whore of Babylon, sounding very like Theophilus admiring the mental images brought to mind by his remembrance of past persecutions in The Virgin Martyr, says:

But as in Lantskip, Towns and Woods appeare
Small from a farre off, yet to the Opticke sence,
The mind shewes them as great as those more neere;
So, wingd Time that long agoe flew hence
You must fetch backe with all those golden yeares
He stole, and here imagine still hee stands,
Thrusting his siluer locke into your hands
(9-15).

Dekker, in other words, is making past time present by stirring the memories of his audience. In The Virgin Martyr, he similarly toys with time, bringing historical circumstances into contemporary relevance. Ostensibly, the play is about the persecutions of Christians by imperial Rome. However, into this "Lantskip" of religious intolerance, Dekker introduces details that, like the "Towns and Woods," "appeare/Small from a farre off," but which to the "Opticke sence" become important clues to the meaning of their context. The small images redefine the significance of the subject of the play, bringing the whole question of persecution "more neere."

The kind of persecution most to be feared by Protestant England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, if the authors of tracts on the subject are to be believed, was that perpetrated by imperial papal Rome. Dekker himself had exploited the subject explicitly and

mercilessly by cramming every "Papist" machination against Elizabeth into what his "Prologue" apologetically admits is "but two howres" in The Whore of Babylon. He had also written against Roman Catholic conspiracies in A Papist in Arms and If This Be Not a Good Play, the Devil is in It. His sensibility seems to have been attuned to the Protestant interpretation of the myth of the Revelation.

Given this sensibility, what was Dekker doing contributing to the writing of The Virgin Martyr, a saint's play which at least one critic has called "Catholic propaganda," and which many others have found to be "Catholic in tone and doctrine"? Obviously, either the play constitutes a violent qualification of our estimation of Dekker's anti-Catholicism, or The Virgin Martyr is not a Catholic play. From the appraisals of various critics, it may be gathered that the dismissal of the play as merely "patristic" is not really adequate, for the "essence" of the work comes from a distinctly Roman Catholic tradition, a fact that would not escape an audience to whom religious controversy was an immediate and often violent reality.

An examination of The Virgin Martyr bears out the need for qualification. The basic elements of the legend of St. Dorothea in the play appear to be the work of Dekker's collaborator, Philip Massinger, whose religious persuasions some critics have deduced were Roman Catholic. Certainly, in this play and others, Massinger evinces a familiarity with the doctrinal terminology of Roman Catholicism. Thus, in his portions of The Virgin Martyr, the "Roman" portions, the persecuting Roman religion often appears

described in language that Protestants associated with the "new paganism," Roman Catholicism.

Certainly, Protestant controversialists, playing upon the pun implicit in the word "Rome," consistently paralleled the Rome of the Papacy with imperial Rome as the manifestation of Antichrist. In temporal power and glory, papal Rome was seen to be the recurrence of imperial Rome; in doctrine, ceremony, and idolatry, Roman Catholicism was likened to the paganism of the Roman religion.

It is this paganism that Dekker exploits in skewing the relevance of The Virgin Martyr. In his portions of the play, which, though they do complement the saint's legend thematically, are somewhat extraneous to it and are not found in its sources, Dekker's pagans are Hircius and Spungius, leftovers from the tradition of Protestant morality drama. These two characters are at once anachronistic and Roman Catholic. To the extent that they are, they define the temporal relevance and the "paganism" of the Roman religion in The Virgin Martyr. Moreover, the only persecutions described by name in the play take place in Britain, and occur in passages written by Dekker. I think it no accident that Dekker brought England into The Virgin Martyr, but not, as Louise Clubb states, to give hope to oppressed Catholics.

Among the specific allusions that define the Roman Catholicism of Hircius and Spungius, are several having Eucharistic significance. These "Eucharist allusions," referring as they do to a doctrinal question that was hotly and extensively disputed during and after the period of the Reformation, serve as a motif further defining

the theology of the play. Hircius and Spungius are described in terms of the carnal or sacrificial vision of Roman Catholic doctrine; the play posits a denial of this vision and advances a spiritual emphasis suggested by the Protestant symbolic, or sacramental vision. Artemia, enamoured of Antoninus, and representing the temporality of Rome, is described as "no essentiall foode"; the fruit sent to Theophilus from Dorothea, for whom temporal death has meant translation to a spiritual realm, is, on the other hand, "essential."

The Virgin Martyr denies the world of time, of magnificence, of carnality, and of death. This world it associates with the vision of the Roman Catholic Church. However, in the play, this world is also described in terms traditionally applied to tragedy. The Virgin Martyr is called a tragedy, but it represents the glorious victory of its protagonists, relegating the "tragedy" to the temporal world which the Christian lesson--as interpreted here--teaches is illusory. Again, the "Prologue" to The Whore of Babylon has an interesting comment about the religious subject presented in that play: it is

Matter aboue the vulgar Argument:
 Yet drawne so liuely, that the weakest eye,
 (Through those thin vailes we hang betweene your sight,
 And this our peice) may reach the mistery:
 What in it is most graue, will most delight
 (5-8).

Similarly, The Virgin Martyr presents "Matter aboue the vulgar Argument"; similarly, "What in it is most graue, will most delight." It is the serious portions of The Virgin Martyr that are most truly "comic," for, in the contradiction implicit in "Christian" tragedy, the Christian moral subverts tragic catastrophe. In the martyr's myth, even death is a victory.

The "tragedy" in The Virgin Martyr is subverted not only by the translation of the protagonists, but by being relegated to the realm of evil and of degradation. Dioclesian is "tragic," but reprehensible; Hircius and Spungius are "tragic," but despicable. By making the tragic figures "Roman Catholics," Dekker identifies the temporal vision of tragedy with the carnal vision of the Roman Catholic Church. By creating a world of tragic reprobation and, instead of lamenting it, justifying it, Dekker approaches the problem of tragedy as a Protestant, and not as a Catholic, who would allow the efficacy of human actions towards salvation.

According to the "Prologue," The Whore of Babylon must be read from an intellectual point of view:

These Wonders sit and see, sending as guide
Your Iudgement, not your passions: passion slides,
When Iudgement goes vpright: for tho the Muse
(Thats thus inspir'de) a Nouell path does tread,
Shee's free from foolish boldnes, or base dread.
Loe; scorne she scornes and Enuies ranckling tooth,
For this is all shee does, she wakens Truth
(20-6).

That play is a polemical piece. Similarly, the religious moral of The Virgin Martyr requires that, transcending the pity and the terror, the argument of the play be apprehended intellectually. The judgement that discovers the truth of the "tragedy" of The Virgin Martyr in like fashion discovers its theology. The significant mist that shrouds the play is effectually dissolved by a careful exercise of judgement, which reveals that Dekker has craftily assimilated the Catholic tradition to his Protestant purposes. The reflection of the "Roman" part of the play in the structural complement of the "English" part gives the play a new image. The shadow of the play's "essence" in this case is the truth.

APPENDIX I

THE COLLABORATION

H. D. Sykes states of The Virgin Martyr: "It is . . . possible to distinguish, with a degree of certainty unusual where problems of joint authorship are concerned, the work of the two dramatists who composed it, for the writings of each possess clearly-marked characteristics."¹ A general agreement among textual critics makes the attribution of scenes in The Virgin Martyr reasonably concrete and usable:

	Gifford	Fleay	Cruikshank	Sykes	Bowers
Act I, i	Massinger	Massinger	Massinger	Massinger	Massinger
II, i	Dekker	Dekker	Dekker, Massinger	Dekker	Dekker
ii	Dekker	Dekker	Dekker, Massinger	Dekker, Massinger	Dekker
iii	Dekker	Dekker	Dekker, Massinger	Dekker, Massinger	Dekker
III, i	Massinger	Massinger	Massinger	Massinger	Massinger
ii	Massinger	Massinger	Massinger	Massinger	Massinger
iii	Dekker	Dekker	Dekker	Dekker	Dekker
IV, i	Massinger	Dekker	Dekker, Massinger	Dekker, Massinger	Dekker (revised)
ii	Dekker	Dekker	Dekker	Dekker	Dekker
iii	Massinger	Massinger	Massinger	Massinger	Massinger
V, i	Dekker	Dekker	Dekker, Massinger	Dekker, Massinger	Dekker
ii	Massinger	Massinger	Massinger	Massinger	Massinger

Sykes' attribution is based upon critical criteria, mainly repeated

image patterns and "characteristic words, phrases, allusions, and tricks of speech." In general, his method is quite convincing, but to it must be added the qualification of Bowers' attribution upon textual grounds. In at least one scene (IV, i), Bowers conjectures that "Dekker had rewritten a Massinger version."² Moreover, he suggests that Dekker may have "touched up" IV, iii.³ This supports the supposition that Dekker was the "reformer" of The Virgin Martyr.

If Massinger was in fact, as he appears to have been, the originator of the "conception and framework" of the play, then the parts contributed by Dekker must have been included after his release from debtor's prison in 1620. Massinger's earliest known work is The Bloody Brother (with Fletcher, Field, and Daborne), written in 1613. The Virgin Martyr, if originally Massinger's, was almost certainly written for the first time after this date. Dekker was in prison from 1613 on; therefore, his participation in the writing of the play likely took place during the period from his release to the licensing of The Virgin Martyr on October 6, 1620. However, at that licensing, the play had been "reformed." If this reformation in fact refers to revision, then Dekker, not Massinger, was the revisor. If the play was, as Sykes and Miss Clubb advance, a true collaboration, then it is likely that Massinger was at least aware of the qualification that Dekker seems to have placed upon the saint's play. If this qualification was included with Massinger's knowledge and consent, either it was done for some external cause (as Bentley and Miss Clubb suggest), or the argument from incidentals in Massinger's plays to his Catholicism is brought into serious question.

APPENDIX II

MASSINGER, DEKKER AND THE CHRISTIAN TERENCE

C.H. Herford discredits the suggestion that the Comoedia Dorothea Passionem depingens (Leipzig, 1507) of Chilianus, "eques Millerstatinus," is a prototype for The Virgin Martyr: "Naturally the daring imagination with which Massinger at once enriched and degraded his subject is wholly out of the question."¹ As we know, it was principally Dekker who "degraded" the subject by introducing Hircius and Spungius. In view of the fact that Herford posits Chilianus' production as a source of the Florentine La rappresentatione di Sa Dorothea, and notes that it was translated into Danish by Chr. Hansen, it is curious that he is sceptical of its influence in England.

The Comoedia Dorothea Passionem depingens is a representative of the drama of the so-called "Christian Terence," which was a dramatic tradition paralleling the tragedia sacra, but more amenable to Protestants. The original manifesto of the Christian Terence drama was declared by the Saxon nun, Hrotswitha, in the preface to her plays. Attracted by "the polished elegance of the style of pagan writers," especially Terence, but wary of the danger implicit in the fascination with "the charm of the manner" of being "corrupted by the wickedness of the matter," she has attempted "to glorify, within the limits of my poor talents, the laudable chastity of Christian virgins in that self-same form of composition which has been used to describe the shameless

acts of licentious women."² Chilianus, in the foreword to his play, acknowledges an indebtedness to "Rosphita."³

Hrotswitha (ca. 935-1002) was a nun at the Benedictine convent of Gandersheim in Saxony. Uniquely, she wrote six Latin "comedies" (Gallicanus, Dulcitius, Callimachus, Abraham, Sapientia, Paphnutius), as well as a panegyric of the Otho emperors (Gesta Oddonis) and, in "leonine hexameters," eight saints' legends (Maria, Ascencio, Gongolfus, Pelagius, Theophilus, Basilius, Dionysius, Agnes). These works are all pious exercises: Dulcitius and Sapientia treat of martyrdom; the other four plays explore the theme of renunciation of the flesh in favour of spiritual salvation. Their implicit likeness to an anomaly such as The Virgin Martyr suggests them as a possible complementary source.

To all appearances, Hrotswitha's productions lay dormant from the time of her death until 1494, when the German humanist Conrad Celtes discovered what has been designated the Emmeram-Munich codex⁴--the authoritative manuscript of her plays and poems--in the Benedictine monastery of St. Emmeram, Ratisbon (Regensburg). In 1501, Celtes published, at Nurnberg, the "complete" works of Hrotswitha as Opera Hrosvite illustris virginis a Conrado Celte inventa. This discovery of a native German writing "classical" drama was the occasion of considerable excitement in German humanist circles. The Opera Hrosvite is dedicated to the Elector of Saxony, Frederick III, who financed its printing;⁵ Albrecht Durer contributed two woodcuts to the edition. Fifteen members of Celtes' "Rhenish Sodalitas Litteraria" wrote epigrams on Hrotswitha, among them: "To Terence praise of the theatre, in the lyric to Horace, martial matters to Vergil, Hrotsvitha bears a manifold laurel"⁶ and,

"If Sappho is the tenth of the sweet-singing Muses, Hrotsvitha must be recorded the eleventh."⁷

This is to suggest that Hrotswitha's works, though anomalous, had a considerable reputation in Germany. That this reputation was not restricted to Celtes' immediate circle is indicated by the inclusion of an epigram written by Sebastian Brant, who was internationally known. Thus, for example, when the English martyrologist John Foxe came in contact with "the very heart of Protestant Humanism"⁸ when he lodged in Basle at the house of Oporinus, "the publisher of one of the best known collections of sacred Latin drama,"⁹ it is scarcely conceivable that Hrotswitha should have escaped his notice.

In fact, it is alleged that Hrotswitha's writings were introduced into England by Foxe's fellow Protestant exile, Lawrence Humphrey.¹⁰ Foxe and Humphrey appear to have been in close contact at Basle: C.H. Garrett suggests that they worked together on the Book of Martyrs;¹¹ Foxe presented a copy of the Acts and Monuments to Lawrence Humphrey, who in 1561 became President of Magdalen College, Oxford.¹² Foxe himself had at one time been interested in drama, apparently for polemical purposes. While at Magdalen College he "wrote Latin plays on religious subjects,"¹³ and, in Basle, he became familiar with the writings of the Neo-Latin dramatists: "Ardent Protestant though he was, he had not disdained to turn over the Asotus of the staunch Catholic Macropedius, nor the Christus Xylonicus of Barphtholomaeus [sic] Lochiensis."¹⁴

Also at Basle, Foxe lived with John Bale, a vigorous anti-Catholic. In 1556, the former wrote of Bale from the Swiss city: "For

nearly ten years he had been my Achates; in England we dwelt together in the house of the illustrious Duchess of Richmond [Mary Fitzroy], and now once more we are dwelling together in Germany."¹⁵ Lawrence Humphrey was at the time a student in Basle, where he likely knew Bale. Jacobus Verheiden writes of Bale:

He was a powerful engine against the Roman Church, as appears by that Distiche of Lawrence Humphred [sic]:

Plurima Lutherus patefecit Platina multa.
Quadam Vergerius, Cuneta Baleus habet.

Englished thus:

Full well did Luther, Platina did well,
So did Vergerius, Bale doth all excell.¹⁶

Thus, Bale, Foxe, and Humphrey were associated through common exile, religious concerns, and literary pursuits.

According to C.H. Herford, Bale had found a precedent for his Kynge Johan in the works of the German "coryphaeus of the purely Protestant wing of the Latin drama," Thomas Kirchmayer.¹⁷ Kirchmayer's Pammachius was an attempt, like Bale's Kynge Johan, to give "dramatic form to the Protestant version of the legend of Antichrist."¹⁸ Herford suggests a possible relationship between Kirchmayer and Hrotswitha: "Julian [the Roman emperor in Pammachius] had already figured in the Gallicanus of Hrotswitha, but simply as the persecuting emperor.

. . . . Celtes' edition of her might well be known to Kirchmayer and have suggested his somewhat singular choice of a typical emperor."¹⁹

It is quite likely that the Christian Terence drama, and specifically Hrotswitha, came to the notice of the Protestant Lawrence Humphrey.

The allegation that Humphrey tried to prove Hrotswitha to have been St. Hilda of Northumbria²⁰ was first made by H. Meibomius in his Wittekindus Monachus Corbeiensis (Frankfurt, 1621) and was later repeated by G.J. Vossius in De historicis latinis libri tres (Amsterdam, 1627), and M.F. Seidel in Icones et elogia virorum aliquot praestantium (Berlin, 1671).²¹ None of these authors has indicated precisely (or imprecisely) where in the Humphrey canon this argument is advanced. The important thing to decide is whether Hrotswitha's works did spread to England, and to discover whether The Virgin Martyr owes anything to them or to their tradition.

The "Christian Terence" did persist in England. In 1592, Cornelius Schonaeus published a collection of biblical plays under the title Terentius Christianus at Cologne.²² It was first printed in England in 1595, and "was reprinted frequently in the seventeenth century." The English edition addresses the reader in these terms:

For boys (as the grammarian Lily, not unknown in England, said), only pure things are suitable. In Terence there is pure language, but the subject matter for the most part is not pure, nor is that strange. What can you expect of a poor ethnic, ignorant of the true God, the source of true purity? Therefore, Schonaeus, a very learned man, did something worthwhile: for the benefit of Christian boys he has clothed more chaste subject matter in the pure language of Terence, in order that along with elegance of style boys may imbibe holiness and uprightness of character.²³

This rationale sounds very much like that professed by Hrotswitha.

In the 1605 catalogue of the library of Sir Thomas Bodley, this entry occurs: "Hiroswitha. de geltis oddonum."²⁴ While the plays are not necessarily subsumed under this notation, it does suggest that Hrotswitha's writings were not entirely alien to England. It is interesting to speculate where Bodley might have acquired them: his

father, John Bodley, was a Marian exile with Humphrey,²⁵ and Thomas himself ". . . was sent to Magd. coll. in 1559, where making great proficiency in Logick and Philosophy under Mr. Laur. Humphrey, was admitted Bach. of arts in Jul. 1563" ²⁶

Thomas Heywood, in his GUNAIKEION: or Nine Bookes of Various History. Concernynge Women; Inscribed by ye names of ye Nine Muses, includes in his section on "Women Learned in Theology" the following note on Hrotswitha:

From her I come to Rosuida, borne in Germanie, and by Nation a Saxon: shee liued under Lotharius the first, and was of a religious place called Gandresenses in the diocesse of Hildesemensis; shee was facundious in the Greeke and Roman Tongues and practised in all good Artes: shee composed many Workes, not without great commendation from the Readers, one especially to her fellow Nunnes and Votaresses, exhorting them to Chastitie, Vertue, and Divine worship. Shee published six Comedies, besides a noble Poeme in Hexameter Verse, of the Bookes and Heroicke Acts done by the Otho Caesars. Shee writ the Lives of holy women, but chiefly a Divine worke of the pious and chaste life of the blessed Virgin in Elegiacke Verse, which began thus, Vnica Spes Mundiem. Cranzius, Lib. 6 cap. 20 Metrapoleos. Fulgos. Lib. 8 cap. 3. Elizabetha, Abbesse of Schonaugia, zealously imitated the practise and studies of this Rosuida, which shee professed in the citie of Triers.²⁷

Heywood perhaps did not have a firsthand familiarity with Hrotswitha's writings: he cites Albertus Krantz and Baptista Fulgoso as his sources.

However, most suggestions of Hrotswitha's influence upon English Renaissance drama have arisen from textual similarities. Many commentators have remarked the striking likenesses between Hrotswitha's Callimachus and Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet: from these some have inferred that the nun's play was a source of, especially, the tomb scenes in Romeo and Juliet.²⁸ Geoffrey Bullough posits a "Hrotswithian" source for another of Shakespeare's dramas: the legend of St. Agnes as a prototype for the character of Marina in Pericles.²⁹ Louise George

Clubb suggests the Agnes legend as the source of Antoninus' love-sickness in The Virgin Martyr;³⁰ Gallicanus includes a similar motif, as well as the military setting and two virgins to complement the chaste heroine. In Dulcitius, the persecuting emperor is Diocletian; in both Dulcitius and Sapientia martyr motifs occur that remind one of The Virgin Martyr. Both Helen Waddell³¹ and Charles Magnin³² have remarked parallels between Dekker's Honest Whore II (1630) and Hrotswitha's Abraham and Paphnutius. And Bellafront's conversion to chastity by temporal love is markedly like the conversions of Callimachus and Gallicanus in Hrotswitha's plays and Antoninus in The Virgin Martyr. These similarities of motif and theme, however, are not conclusive evidence of relationship.

It may be noted, nevertheless, that Dekker was apparently indebted in some degree to the English branch of the Christian Terence drama. As Miss Hunt states, "it is interesting to remember that he had a hand in two biblical dramas [Jephthah with Munday, and a prologue and epilogue for Pontius Pilate] when that species was dying out."³³ The Latin school drama of the Christian Terence in England was promulgated by Ralph Radcliff, John Christoferson, and Nicholas Grimald. In 1546, Christoferson had written a biblical play called Jephthes; Radcliff wrote a "comedy" called Patient Greseld,³⁴ perhaps a precedent for Dekker's The Comedy of Patient Grissill. Radcliff's dramas were performed in the dismantled Carmelite monastery at Hitchin, and "his heroes were almost exclusively drawn from the records of steadfast endurance, of patient suffering, not of violence and aggression."³⁵

Dekker's postulated relationship with Christian Terence drama does not directly link him with Hrotswitha, but it does suggest where he

might have been looking for material. That his company, The Admiral's, did produce at least five plays (Constantine [1580-1592], Diocletian [1594], I Fair Constance of Rome [1600], and II Fair Constance of Rome [1600], and Julian the Apostate [1596]) on subjects that appear in the plays of Hrotswitha indicates the possibility that he might have known her works.³⁶ If he did, they perhaps constitute a Protestant source (in so far as Lawrence Humphrey promoted them) of the kind of saints' legends that The Virgin Martyr represents. The tragedia sacra supply more specific and more accessible precedents, but Hrotswitha's saints and virgins would constitute at least a complementary source. As Louise George Clubb asserts:

Meanwhile the virgin martyr was kept on stage also by another more modern and, to sixteenth-century taste, more respectable form of drama. The movement for a "Christian Terence," begun by the publication of Hrotswitha's long-lost comedies in 1501 and sped by the desire of humanistic pedagogues to teach their students morals, produced a line of five-act Latin comoedia on Christian subjects, occasionally among them the lives of virgin martyrs.³⁷

APPENDIX III

THOMAS DEKKER AND THE PROTESTANT LITERARY TRADITION

Dekker appears to have brought to The Virgin Martyr a markedly Protestant predisposition. The Protestant tradition in which he seems to have been working, while it does include the martyrologies of the primitive church (witness Foxe, and Humphrey's alleged interest in the works of Hrotswitha), makes only passing reference to the martyrdom of Saint Dorothea.¹ In the Catholic martyrology, on the other hand, she has her own tradition, including a dramatic one: the central source of The Virgin Martyr was likely Catholic. However, the anti-christian devil and the morality play element in the play are accounted for by the Protestant tradition.

As we have seen, Dekker can be related to the drama of the "Christian Terence" in England from his participation in the writing of biblical plays and his Patient Grissill. His Jephthah was written in collaboration with Anthony Munday, the author of, among other things, An Advertisement and defence for Trueth against her Backbiters, and specially against the whispring favourers and Colourers of Campions, and the rest of his confederates treasons (1581) and The English Romaine Lyfe. Discovering: The lives of the Englishmen at Roome (1582), both works quite obviously in the tradition of Protestant polemicism.

Dekker's The Whore of Babylon is a production in the tradition of Thomas Kirchmayer's Pammachius, John Bale's Kynge Johan, and Lawrence Humphrey's A View of the Romish Hydra (1588), which perhaps supplied the image of the Rome of the Papacy as a hydra-headed monster in The Whore of Babylon: ". . . that scarlet-coloured beast that beares/Seuen Kingdomes on seuen heads" (III, i, 171-2) and in A Papist in Arms: ". . . their Great Italian Madona (Antichrist's daughter) that rides vpon the Beast with Seauen Heads." ² He is exploiting the Protestant identification of Antichrist with papal Rome.

In 1602, Dekker had written, in collaboration with Chettle, Smith, Heywood, and Webster, I Lady Jane, or the Overthrow of Rebels, completing Part II alone. These two plays, fragments of which are thought to be extant in Dekker and Webster's The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyat, With the Coronation of Queen Mary, and the Coming in of King Philip (1607), ³ deal with the political martyrdom of Lady Jane Grey at the hands of the Catholic Mary Tudor.

Aside from its political implications (at least one critic has construed that Sir Thomas Wyat was written "entirely in support of the house of Suffolk as direct lineal claimants to the throne" ⁴), the Lady Jane material is "martyr" literature. After her execution for treason in 1554, Lady Jane Grey's literary remains, including her statement on the scaffold, fell into the hands of James Haddon, who carried them to Heinrich Bullinger in Strasburg. Here, they were published in the summer of 1554. The Protestant party in exile, engaged as they were in a vigorous propaganda campaign, found the statement of Lady Jane on the scaffold to be "the most inflammatory of campaign documents." ⁵

John Foxe included Lady Jane's writings, together with an account of her character and short career, in his Acts and Monuments. He quotes a ten-line epitaph on her written by Lawrence Humphrey, who refers to her virginal character, her royal estate, and her double (religious and political) martyrdom.⁶ In his Certain most godly, fruitfull, and comfortable letters of such true Saints and holy Martyrs, as in the late bloodye persecution here within this Realme . . . suffered (1564), Miles Coverdale includes a letter written by Lady Jane to her sister, Katherine. Jane's speech on the scaffold appears in Richard Grafton's Chronicle of Briteyn (1568). Peter Martyr wrote to Bullinger (April 3, 1554): "Jane, who was formerly queen, conducted herself at her execution with the greatest fortitude and godliness, as did also her father and husband."⁷ And John Calvin, on November 13, 1554, wrote to her uncle, Lord John Grey, of ". . . your excellent niece, a lady whose example is worthy of everlasting remembrance, to whom it was given, even in death itself, to commit [her] triumphant soul . . . to God."⁸ The source of the Lady Jane plays was undoubtedly a composite of Protestant martyr literature.

The most significant examples of this type were produced by John Bale and John Foxe. Bale had already written The Examination of Sir John Oldcastle, The Examination of William Thorpe, and The Examination of Mistresse Anne Askewe when Foxe's Acts and Monuments appeared. In this work, Foxe compared the Protestant martyrs of the English Reformation to the martyrs in the primitive church, thus securing the position of the martyr in Protestant as well as in Catholic tradition, and perhaps accounting for Dekker's later participation in the writing

of a saint's play.

Dekker's own personal interest in the Marian exile, aside from his literary dependence upon the Protestant tradition, perhaps came through an indirect connection with Lawrence Humphrey, whose "zeal against the Roman Catholics gained for him the title of 'Papistomastix.'"⁹

There is nothing in Thomas Dekker's known biography to relate him personally to Lawrence Humphrey. However, Dekker's "Dedication" of Canaan's Calamitie (1598) to "THE RIGHT WORSHIPFULL M. Richard Kingsmill Esquier, Iustice of peace and quorum in the Countie of Southampton, and surueyor of her Maiesties Courtes of Wardes and Liueries" establishes a suggestive link, for Lawrence Humphrey appears to have been on familiar terms with various members of the Protestant Kingsmill family.

Richard Kingsmill himself had been a commissioner in the visitation of 1559 to York, Durham, Chester, and Carlisle, investigating deprivations of clergy. In 1563, he was the Member of Parliament for Calne, Wiltshire, in Elizabeth's first Parliament. With his brother Henry, who had been a Marian exile, he joined the party of John Hales, who figured centrally in the alliance of "Seymourites, Greyites, and Puritans in support of the Suffolk claim."¹⁰ Dekker's Lady Jane plays are markedly sympathetic to the Suffolk cause, which was revived before Elizabeth's death.

Kingsmill's brother Andrew (1538-69) had been, like Lawrence Humphrey, a Marian exile, and held the same anti-vestibarian views that Humphrey defended. According to Anthony Wood, Andrew was preaching

at St. Mary's, Oxford, with Humphrey and Thomas Sampson at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign.¹¹ Another brother, John, was the first chancellor to Robert Horne, bishop of Winchester, who had been in exile at Zurich with Humphrey in 1554. Thomas Kingsmill had been a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1560, while Humphrey was professor of divinity there. And a sister, Alicia, in 1560 married James Pilkington (1520-76), Bishop of Durham, who was in exile with Humphrey at Geneva in 1557; he too was an anti-vestarian.

Humphrey's relationship with the Kingsmill family appears to have been immediate, and was likely intimate. Similarly, Dekker's acquaintance with Richard Kingsmill seems to have been first-hand. He thanks Kingsmill for ". . . your extraordinary favour, shewed in the depths of extremitie, to some poore friendes of mine, remayning in your pleasant Lordship of High-clere" The dramatist had friends living on Kingsmill's estate. The word "remayning" suggests that Dekker himself may have spent time there prior to the publication of Canaan's Calamitie in 1598.

Unlike Massinger, whose religious position stands in doubt, Dekker was a professed Protestant, many of whose works reflect the explicitly Protestant temper and history of his times. It is this sensibility that Dekker brought to The Virgin Martyr.

REFERENCES

Chapter One

¹H. D. Sykes, "Massinger and Dekker's The Virgin Martyr," Notes and Queries, CXLII (1922), 61, hereafter cited as Sykes.

²A claim made on the title page of the first edition of 1622. This page is reprinted in Fredson Bowers' edition of The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker (Cambridge: University Press, 1958), III, 366, hereafter cited as Bowers. Bowers' edition of Dekker's plays will be the one used in citing from the dramatic works.

³Louise George Clubb, "The Virgin Martyr and the Tragedia Sacra," Renaissance Drama, VIII (1964), 113, hereafter cited as Clubb.

⁴Ibid., 113.

⁵The usual spelling of the historical Emperor's name is "Diocletian," which I have followed. However, in The Virgin Martyr, the spelling is "Dioclesian," which form I adopt when referring to the character in the play.

⁶According to the New Catholic Encyclopedia (IV, 872), Diocletian's only daughter was called Valeria and, with her mother, Prisca, was "interested" in Christianity.

⁷Lily B. Campbell, Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England (Cambridge: University Press, 1959), 150.

⁸Anon., The fierie tryall of Gods saints as a counterpoyze to J. W., Priest, in his English Martyrologe (London, 1611), 27.

⁹W. A. Ovaas, "Thomas Dekker and The Virgin Martyr," English Studies, III (1921), 168.

¹⁰Clubb, 114-5.

¹¹Ibid., 120.

¹²Ibid., 116.

¹³Ibid., 118.

¹⁴Ibid., 118.

¹⁵Ibid., 119.

- ¹⁶R. Boyle, "Massinger," The Cambridge History of English Literature, VI, 54.
- ¹⁷W. Gifford, "Introduction," The Plays of Philip Massinger (2nd edn.; London, 1813), 108n., hereafter cited as Gifford.
- ¹⁸H. J. Makkink, Philip Massinger and John Fletcher: A Comparison (New York: Haskell House, 1966), 126, hereafter cited as Makkink.
- ¹⁹Anon., An answer or Admonition to these of the Church of Rome, touching the Iubile proclaimed by the Bull, made and set foorth by Pope Clement the eyght for the yeare of our Lord 1600 (London, 1600), sig. B3^r.
- ²⁰J. Payne Collier, ed., Kynge Johan. A Play in Two Parts, by John Bale (London: Camden Society, 1838), 42, hereafter cited as Bale, Kynge Johan.
- ²¹G. B. Harrison, A Second Jacobean Journal (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), 42.
- ²²John Foxe, Acts and Monuments, ed. George Townsend (London, 1837), VI, 416, hereafter cited as Foxe.
- ²³Gifford, I, xliv.
- ²⁴Lucius A. Sherman, ed., "Introduction," Philip Massinger (New York: American Book Company, 1912), 4.
- ²⁵Quoted in Makkink, 126.
- ²⁶Ibid., 128.
- ²⁷A. H. Cruikshank, Philip Massinger (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1920), 3.
- ²⁸Makkink, 126.
- ²⁹First quoted by Gifford (2nd edn.), lvii, n. 7.
- ³⁰M. T. Jones-Davies (Un Peintre de la vie Londonienne: Thomas Dekker, II, 390), referring to Greg's Henslowe's Diary, states that a play called Diocletian was acted November 16 and 22, 1594; Felix E. Schelling suggests that The Virgin Martyr is "Massinger's revision of an earlier play of Dekker's, possibly the Diocletian, acted in 1594 (Elizabethan Drama 1558-1642, 246). There is no record of the Diocletian in the Stationers' Register, but Alfred Harbage does include the play in his Annals and also suggests the attribution to Dekker. The ostensible rationale for the connection of The Virgin Martyr with the lost play is the appearance of Dioclesian in the former as the persecuting emperor: however, the evidence that Dekker

wrote Diocletian or that this play is the prototype for The Virgin Martyr is purely conjectural (for example, it might as well be argued that Diocletian was the model for Fletcher and Massinger's The Prophetess, 1922, a play in which Diocletian figures more centrally than in The Virgin Martyr). M. L. Hunt (Thomas Dekker: A Study, 155) subscribes to Fleay's conjecture that The Virgin Martyr is the revision of a tragedy by Dekker that was in the repertory of the Queen's Company circa 1611 (Jones-Davies, II, 394).

³¹M. T. Jones-Davies, Un Peintre de la vie Londonienne (Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, 1958), II, 396, hereafter cited as Jones-Davies.

³²A. B. Grosart, ed., The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker in Five Volumes (first published 1886; New York: Russell and Russell, 1963), III, 11, hereafter cited as Grosart.

³³For example, F. G. Fleay, M. L. Hunt, and Lucius Sherman.

³⁴Grosart, III, 354.

³⁵Clubb, 103. Bentley makes the claim in The Jacobean and Caroline Stage (Oxford, 1956), III, 263-6.

³⁶Ibid., 119.

³⁷Ibid., 119.

³⁸Ibid., 120.

³⁹Ibid., 120.

⁴⁰"Dedication" to Endymion Porter, Dekker His Dreame, Grosart, III, 8.

⁴¹Clubb, 118.

⁴²M. L. Hunt, Thomas Dekker: A Study (first published 1911; New York: Russell and Russell, 1964), 157, hereafter cited as Hunt.

⁴³Kate L. Gregg, Thomas Dekker: A Study in Economic and Social Backgrounds (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1924), 96.

⁴⁴The "Roman" setting of the play seems more to accord with Massinger's interests than with Dekker's. See, for example, The Roman Actor (acted 1626) in which the persecutor Domitian figures, and The Prophetess (1622) in which Diocletian's reign is treated. As a qualification to this position, it must be remembered that Canaan's Calamitie (1598) deals with Titus' sack of Jerusalem.

⁴⁵Gifford, I, 26.

⁴⁶Clubb, 120.

⁴⁷Sykes, 61.

⁴⁸M. T. Jones-Davies (II, 396-7) notes that Dekker His Dreame was entered in the Stationers' Register October 11, 1619, and that Dekker's next work, The Life and Death of Guy of Warwick (a lost tragedy written in collaboration with John Day), was entered January 15, 1620. The next play with which we find Dekker associated is The Witch of Edmonton, with Ford and Rowley, the writing of which could not have been started before April 27, 1621 (when the account of Elizabeth Sawyer's trial, upon which the play relies, was entered in the Stationers' Register). What was Dekker doing between January 15, 1620, and April 27, 1621? Noting the possibility of lost or unrecorded works, it is nevertheless reasonable to postulate that Dekker was at work on The Virgin Martyr (if not as collaborator, then as revisor) during this period. At least we have definite records of both the date of the "reformed" play and of Dekker's association with it.

⁴⁹"Lectori," The Whore of Babylon, Bowers, II.

⁵⁰Quoted in Hunt, 158.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 155.

Chapter Two

¹Clubb, 108.

²Foxe, VI, 428.

³Clubb, 106.

⁴Alfonso de Villegas, Flos Sanctorum. The Lives of Saints, trans. W. and E. (Paris, 1634), 76.

⁵Hunt, 147.

⁶Oscar Mandel, A Definition of Tragedy (New York: New York University Press, 1961), 160.

⁷Thora B. Blatt, The Plays of John Bale: A Study of Ideas, Technique and Style (Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1968), 185.

⁸Laurence Michel, "The Possibility of a Christian Tragedy," Tragedy: Modern Essays in Criticism, ed. Laurence Michel and Richard B. Sewall (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964), 233.

⁹Laura Jepson, Ethical Aspects of Tragedy (Miami: University of Florida Press, 1953), 5, hereafter cited as Jepson.

¹⁰Willard Farnham, The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936), 193, hereafter cited as Farnham.

¹¹Sidney Lamb, Tragedy (Toronto: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1965), 23.

¹²Heinrich Bullinger, The Tragedies of Tyrants Exercised upon the Church (n. p., 1575), fol. 3^r.

¹³William Tyndale, "The Obedience of a Christian Man," The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance, ed. Elizabeth M. Nugent (Cambridge: University Press, 1956), 63, hereafter cited as Tyndale.

¹⁴Dekker His Dreame (1620), quoted in Hunt, 152.

¹⁵The Wonderful Yeare 1603, Grosart, I, 145.

¹⁶Geoffrey Fenton, Golden Epistles, Contayning varietie of discourse both Morall, Philosophicall, and Diuine (London, 1575), fol. 8^r, hereafter cited as Fenton, Golden Epistles.

¹⁷Jepson, 8.

¹⁸Fenton, Golden Epistles, Epistle 4, fol. 14^v.

¹⁹New Catholic Encyclopedia, XII, 147.

²⁰Farnham, 61.

²¹Boethius, The Consolation of Philosophy, trans. I. C. (London, 1609), Bk. II, pr. 2.

²²Geoffrey Chaucer, "Prologue," The Monk's Tale, ll. B3163-7 of The Canterbury Tales in Chaucer's Major Poetry, ed. A. C. Baugh (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963).

²³John Lydgate, The Fall of Princes (London: Early English Text Society), Pt. II, Bk. III, 126-33.

²⁴Anthony Copley, A Fig for Fortune (London, 1596), 2, hereafter cited as Copley.

²⁵Willard Farnham, "The Mirror for Magistrates and Elizabethan Tragedy," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, XXV (1926), 78.

²⁶John Higgins, Mirror for Magistrates (London, 1587), "Induction," ll. 29-35.

²⁷Fenton, Golden Epistles, 3rd Epistle, fol. 12^r.

²⁸This is Dekker's, and it would appear to indicate that the playwright was aware of and commenting upon Massinger's earlier allusions to fortune in the manner of tragic commonplace.

²⁹Anon., The Tragedy of Nero (London, 1624), sig. A4^r.

³⁰This and other allusions to fortune in Act I seem to be Massinger's, and are referable to the traditional conception of tragedy as the unfortunate falls of the mighty. In The Maid of Honour, Massinger similarly uses fortune: "Your majesty/Hath been long since familiar, I doubt not,/With the desperate fortunes of my lord"; Fortune's "false smiles/Deprive you of your judgements"; "I am his, not fortune's martyr"; "In my fortune/Heaven's justice hath confirmed it." Camilla in this play renounces the realm of misfortune in love by retiring to a nunnery.

³¹Dekker's scene; see Appendix I.

³²The Tragedie of Nero, sig. 13^r.

³³Francis Rous, The diseases of the Time, Attended by their Remedies (London, 1622), 102, hereafter cited as Rous.

³⁴Massinger's scene; see Appendix I.

³⁵Dekker's scene.

³⁶Copley, 11.

³⁷Ibid., 16.

³⁸Ibid., 17.

³⁹Clubb, 105.

⁴⁰Ibid., 105.

⁴¹Lawrence Humphrey, A View of the Romish Hydra (London, 1588), 142, hereafter cited as Humphrey, Hydra.

⁴²Bullinger, The Tragedies of Tyrants, fol. 37^r.

⁴³John W. Cunliffe, ed., Early English Classical Tragedies (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), xiii.

⁴⁴John Reynolds, The Triumphs of Gods Revenge (London, n. d.), sig. B3^v.

⁴⁵Humphrey, Hydra, sig. H6^r.

⁴⁶Richard Robinson, The Reward of Wickednesse (London, 1574), sig. F2^v, hereafter cited as Robinson.

⁴⁷Humphrey, Hydra, sig. 13^v.

⁴⁸Robinson, sig. D4^r.

⁴⁹Bullinger, The Tragedies of Tyrants, fol. 90^r.

⁵⁰Grosart, III, 17.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, III, 35.

⁵²Defined in Thesaurus Linguae Romanae & Britannicae, London 1573.

⁵³George Puttenham, The Arte of English Poesie (London, 1589), 24, hereafter cited as Puttenham.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 20.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, 26.

⁵⁶Sir John Harington, A Briefe Apology for Poetry, in Elizabethan Critical Essays, 2 vols., ed. G. Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904), I, 209.

⁵⁷Puttenham, 27.

⁵⁸Quoted from De Inventoribus Rerum libri tres (1509) by Thora Blatt, The Plays of John Bale, 183: "In tragedia aut heroes, duces, reges introducunt, et sermo grandiloquus."

Chapter Three

¹Puttenham, 27.

²Humphrey, Hydra, 173.

³*Ibid.*, sig. A6^v.

⁴Note this angling metaphor. It is one that Dekker uses in The Virgin Martyr, for example, where Spungius says: "The fish you angle for is nibbling at the hook." The metaphor is personified in the play by the devil's soul-gatherer, Harpax, whose name means, literally, a hook or grappling iron. He refers to himself as a "fisherman" who catches "a fish cal'd soules" (V, i, 85).

⁵John Rawlinson, The Romish Judas. A Sermon Preached at Saint Maries in Oxford the Fifth of November 1610 (London, 1611), 30.

⁶ Humphrey, Hydra, sig. A3^r.

⁷ Anon., The Abuses of the Romish Church Anatomized by a Well-willer to Sion, and to all them that love the Truth in the Truth (London, 1623), sig. C2^r, hereafter cited as Abuses of the Romish Church.

⁸ Incidentally, James I was notorious for his upholding the divine right of kings. Keith Feiling summarizes James's stand: "The King was 'above the law,' though a good king would conform to it; like God Himself, kings have ceded part of their original and parental power to human law, but 'as it is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do,' so it was sedition in a subject 'to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power'" (A History of England, 442). The comment of the King in If It Be Not Good would without doubt have been taken as a reflection upon James's claim.

⁹ Thomas Taylor, A mappe of Rome: Lively Exhibiting her Mercilesse Meeknesse, and cruell mercies to the Church of God (London, 1619), 7.

¹⁰ Ibid., 8.

¹¹ John King, A Sermon Preached at Whitehall 5 Nov. 1608 (Oxford, 1608), 23, hereafter cited as King.

¹² Thomas Vicars relates a similar scene, this time from the Marian persecution: "I will tell you one thing more, they tooke a young infant springing out of the mothers belly as she was at stake burning, they tooke it I say and threw it into the fire to burne with the mother; was there ever such cruelty heard of as this?" (Edom and Babylon against Jerusalem [London, 1633], 45, hereafter cited as Vicars).

¹³ Although this passage appears in a scene attributed to Massinger, it has echoes of Dekker. H. D. Sykes says that "One often notices in Massinger's plays a tendency to dwell upon, almost to gloat over, the idea of torture" (64). He also notes, however, a tendency in Dekker to use repetitions and inversions: thus, a line like "Old men as beasts, in beasts skin torne by dogs" sounds very typical of Dekker. Furthermore, the other accounts of torture in the play (V, i) were written by Dekker.

¹⁴ John Bale, An Expostulation or Complaynte against the blasphemies [sic] of a franticke pappist of Hampshyre (N. p., 1551), sig. B6^r.

¹⁵ King, 25.

¹⁶ Andrew Kingsmill, A Most Excellent and Comfortable treatise for all such as we who are troubled in mind and afflicted in bodie (London, 1577), fol. 289^r.

¹⁷Humphrey, Hydra, sig. III5^v.

¹⁸Richard Reynolds, A Chronicle of all the noble Emperours of the Romaines (London, 1571), fol. 101^r.

¹⁹Richard James, A Sermon concerning the eucharist, delivered in Oxford (preached 1624; printed 1629), 12, hereafter cited as Richard James.

²⁰Anon., An Answere or Admonition to those of the Church of Rome, touching the Iubile . . . (London, 1600), sig. B3^v.

²¹Grosart, II, 186.

²²Ibid., II, 190.

²³Ibid., II, 165.

²⁴Sykes, 88.

²⁵Francesco Negri de Bassano, A certayne tragedie entituled Freewyl, trans. H. Cheeke, 1589, 24, hereafter cited as Negri de Bassano, Freewyl.

²⁶New Catholic Encyclopedia, VII, 418.

²⁷Ibid., VII, 418.

²⁸Again, though this appears in Massinger's scene, it sounds like Dekker. Again, we find an example of the "emphatic repetitions" that Sykes says are particularly characteristic of the latter: "her figure/Her figure in my heart." It would suit Dekker's Protestant purpose to emphasize the idolatrous nature of Antoninus' love, with its implications of Roman Catholic "icon-worship," if only to clarify that he is not assenting to participation in a "Romish" play.

²⁹William Perkins, A Treatise tending unto a declaration whether a man be in the estate of damnation or the estate of grace (London, 1589), 210, hereafter cited as Perkins.

³⁰Richard James, 13.

³¹Clubb, 119.

³²Bullinger, The Tragedies of Tyrants, fol. 40^r.

³³New Catholic Encyclopedia, XII, 839.

³⁴Foxe, VI, 394.

³⁵ John Strype, Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion, 4 vols. (first published at Oxford, 1824; New York: Burt Franklin, n. d.), I, Pt. 1, 239, hereafter cited as Strype.

³⁶ E. N. S. Thompson, The Controversy Between the Puritans and the Stage (2nd edn.; New York: Russell and Russell, 1966), 256n.

³⁷ In The Maid of Honour, for example, Massinger uses "sacrifice" and "altar" repeatedly. For instance: "a sacrifice to your valours" (II, iii, 47); "In hope of mercy, as a sacrifice offered/All that was worth the taking" (IV, i, 5-6). Massinger's male suitors in this play use "sacrifice" in the same context as Antoninus does in The Virgin Martyr: Adorni says to Camilla: "Yet, despise not/My offering at the altar of your favour" (III, iii, 24-5).

³⁸ Foxe, VI, 418.

³⁹ Grosart, I, 57.

⁴⁰ Foxe, VI, 417.

⁴¹ See, for example, Erasmus, Discourse on Free Will, trans. and ed. Ernst F. Winter (New York: F. Ungar, 1961), arguing the Catholic position: "God's grace fights and triumphs in us when we are afflicted, ejected, tortured, and killed. Such atrocities the martyrs suffered. Nonetheless [such a martyr] is to have no merit" (81).

⁴² Tyndale, 27.

⁴³ Francis Bunny, A Comparison betweene the auncient fayth of the Romans, and the new Romish Religion (London, 1595), 13.

⁴⁴ John S. Farmer, ed., Early English Dramatists: Anonymous Plays, 3rd Series (first published by the Early English Drama Society, 1906, and reissued in facsimile by Charles W. Traylen, 1966), 181.

⁴⁵ Strype, I, Pt. 1, 71.

⁴⁶ Vicars, 3.

⁴⁷ Humphrey, Hydra, Sig. A6^v.

⁴⁸ John Bale, The Image of Both Churches (London, 1548), sig. Bii^r.

⁴⁹ Foxe, VI, 418.

⁵⁰ John Bale, An Expostulation or Complaynte against the blasphemous of a franticke pappist of Hampshyre, sig. A6^r.

⁵¹ Humphrey, Hydra, sig. A7^r.

⁵²John Ascham wrote to Sturmius on April 11, 1562, of Elizabeth's restoration of the coinage: "All the coin that had been debased, and entirely alloyed with copper, she has restored to the pure silver standard . . ." (Zurich Letters). In the reign of Diocletian, "The unit of money was the denarius, not the silver, but a copper coin introduced by Diocletian" (Encyclopedia Americana, Canadian Edition, 1949, IX, 132). In 1565, writing to Queen Elizabeth against enjoining the use of the habits, Humphrey reminded her: "She knew, as he proceeded, that the silver of the gospel was intrusted with her, to deliver it over to posterity, pure and purged, without dross" (Strype, I, Pt. 2, 142).

⁵³Grosart, II, 138.

⁵⁴This is Massinger's. Either intentionally or unintentionally, he has described the memorable Roman matrons in Roman Catholic terms. Dekker, however, seems intentionally to be commenting on Catholic saints when he depicts the relics of Hircius and Spungius.

⁵⁵Anon., Abuses of the Romish Church, sig. B7^v.

⁵⁶Humphrey, Hydra, sig. A6^v.

⁵⁷Negri de Bassano, Freewyl, 22.

⁵⁸Thomas Heywood, England's Elizabeth, Her Life and Troubles (London, 1631), 94.

⁵⁹Humphrey, Hydra, sig. A4^r.

⁶⁰According to Thomas Scott, Robert Earle of Essex his Ghost ("Paradise," 1624), 3.

⁶¹Taylor, A mappe of Rome, 38.

⁶²John Aylmer, An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subjects agaynst the late blowne blaste concerning the gouernmēt of wemen (Strasburg, 1559), sig. B2^r.

⁶³Scott, Robert Earle of Essex his Ghost, 4.

⁶⁴Vicars, 45.

⁶⁵Humphrey, Hydra, sig. D4^r.

⁶⁶Vicars, 11.

⁶⁷Grosart, II, 166.

⁶⁸Strype, II, Pt. 2, 2.

⁶⁹Godfrey Davies, The Early Stuarts 1603-1660 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1937), 52, hereafter cited as Davies.

⁷⁰D. L. Farmer, Britain and the Stuarts (London: G. Bell and Sons Ltd., 1965), 25.

⁷¹Davies, 53.

⁷²Farmer, Britain and the Stuarts, 26.

⁷³Davies, 57.

⁷⁴Clubb, 120.

Chapter Four

¹Foxe, I, 69.

²John Bale, The Examination of Mistress Anne Askewe, Select Works of Bishop Bale, ed. Henry Christmas (Cambridge, 1849, for the Parker Society), 152, hereafter cited as Bale, Askewe.

³Vicars, 35.

⁴Anon., An Answere or Admonition to those of the Church of Rome . . ., sig. A3^r.

⁵Bowers, III, 372.

⁶Grosart, III, 347.

⁷Scott, Robert Earle of Essex his Ghost, 10.

⁸The Gul's Hornbook (1609), Grosart, II, 213.

⁹This is quite obviously written by Dekker. Compare Match Mee in London: "'Tis some English man has stolne her, I hold my life, for most theeues and brauest Cony-catchers are amongst them" (I, ii, 101-2), for example.

¹⁰Clubb, 105.

¹¹Gifford (101n.) calls this reference to "Great Britaine" "a curious anachronism," albeit one of those that "our old dramatic writers were little solicitous to avoid." This is an oversimplification. Gifford does, however, attribute the speech to Dekker: "The reader wants not my assistance to discover that this rugged narrative is by Decker"

¹²"Diocletian," The Dictionary of Christian Biography, I, 834. However, in Acts and Monuments, I, 231, John Foxe describes the British persecution as "great and horrible."

¹³An epithet applied by Professor J. O. Orrell in response to a student of Shakespeare who had asked why Desdemona does not scream and fight when Othello is about to smother her.

¹⁴"Lectori," The Whore of Babylon, Bowers, II, 497.

¹⁵Thomas Heywood, An Apology for Actors (London, 1612), sig. F3^v.

¹⁶Gifford, 119.

¹⁷Ibid., 119.

¹⁸Hunt, 158.

¹⁹Sykes, 61.

²⁰William Prynne, Histrion-mastix (London, 1633), 101.

²¹Alfred W. Pollard, ed., English Miracle Plays, Moralities and Interludes (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904), 53, 11. 334-7.

²²Ibid., 70, 11. 212-20.

²³Ibid., 68, 11. 128-36.

²⁴Harpax is the name of a slave in Plautus, and of a servant in Ralph Roister Doister. According to Lewis and Short's Latin Dictionary, "harpax" means, literally, "of amber and brimstone." As we have seen, the word is derived from harpe, meaning hook or grappling iron.

²⁵Pollard, ed., English Miracle Plays, Moralities, and Interludes, 68, 11. 137-45.

²⁶Jesse W. Harris, John Bale: A Study in the Minor Literature of the Reformation (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1940), 66.

²⁷Lily B. Campbell, Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England (Cambridge: University Press, 1959), 225.

²⁸Bale, Kynge Johan, 4.

²⁹Ibid., 65.

³⁰Abuses of the Romish Church, sig. A3^r.

³¹Quoted in E. N. S. Thompson, The Controversy Between the Puritans and the Stage, 205.

³²Bale, Kynge Johan, 3.

³³John S. Farmer, ed., Early English Dramatists: Anonymous Plays, 3rd Series, 213.

³⁴John Bale, The Examination of William Thorpe, Select Works of Bishop Bale, ed. Henry Christmas (Cambridge, 1839, for the Parker Society), 111.

³⁵G. B. Harrison, A Second Jacobean Journal, 291.

³⁶Tyndale, 127.

³⁷Quoted in Strype, I, Pt. 2, 185.

³⁸Henry Mason, The Epicures Fast: or A Short Discourse, Discovering the Licentiousnesse of the Roman Church in her religious fasts (London, 1626), 49.

³⁹Abuses of the Romish Church, sig. A7^r.

⁴⁰Vicars, 25.

⁴¹Grosart, II, 162.

⁴²Anon., The Fall of Babylon in Vsurping Ecclesiastical Power and Offices (Amsterdam, 1634), 6.

⁴³Vicars, 24.

⁴⁴Quoting St. Jerome in Foure Birdes of Noah's Arke, Grosart, V, 108.

⁴⁵Bale, Kynge Johan, 71.

⁴⁶Grosart, II, 166.

⁴⁷Humphrey, Hydra, 173.

⁴⁸In view of the parallel structure of this scene to Christ's Last Supper, I take the "meat, bread, and wine" to be a Eucharist allusion. In the Catholic Eucharist, consecration gives the "meat" (Christ's flesh and blood) immanence in the bread and wine. By making the meat exclusive of the bread and wine, the author of this scene in Sir Thomas Wyat emphasizes the divorce between the sign and the thing signified in the Protestant view of the Eucharist.

⁴⁹A very profitable treatise, made by Mr. John Calvin, declaring what great profit might come to Christendom, if there were a register made of all saints' bodies, and other relics, which are as well in Italy as in France, Dutchland, Spain, and other kingdoms and countries, trans. (London, 1560).

⁵⁰Richard James, 9.

⁵¹Bale, Askewe, 192.

⁵²Bale, Kynge Johan, 47.

⁵³Ibid., 99.

⁵⁴A Papist in Arms, Grosart, II, 176.

⁵⁵John Bale, A brefe Chronycle concernyng the Examinacyon and death of the blessed martyr of Christ Sir John Oldcastle . . . (1544), sig. GV^v-GV^v. Jesse W. Harris suggests: "Of Bale's works as a controversialist, perhaps the less one says the better. These treatises are almost unreadable today, and, with slight exceptions, useful only as curiosities. This statement, however, does not apply to his work on the Protestant martyr, because these productions have a definite relationship to the growth of martyr literature, and they were influential in developing the Protestant tenor which characterized historical thought long after Bale's own age."

⁵⁶Rawlinson, The Romish Judas, 12.

⁵⁷Bale, A brefe Chronycle concerning the Examinacyon and death of the blessed martyr of Christ Sir John Oldcastle, sig. GIV^v.

⁵⁸Humphrey, Hydra, sig. F3^v.

⁵⁹Grosart, III, 347.

⁶⁰Ibid., II, 95.

⁶¹Humphrey, Hydra, sig. H3^v.

⁶²Grosart, II, 167.

⁶³Bale, Kynge Johan, 70.

⁶⁴Ibid., 25.

⁶⁵Clubb, 105.

Chapter Five

¹Humphrey, Hydra, sig. E2^v.

²Quoted in Foxe, I, 83. Bale tells us: "If they have such a god as may both fall and so be eaten, as this priest here confesseth, it is some false or counterfeit god of their own making. If he may putrefy, or be consumed of worms, mould, rust, or fire, Baruch saith it is an idol, and no god" (Askewe, 159).

³John Coldwell claims that the Roman Catholic Church "con-founded the sign with the thing signified; and worshipped a wafer-cake, which is a creature corruptible, instead of the Maker of heaven and earth" (Strype, II, Pt. 2, 119).

⁴Abuses of the Romish Church, sig. B5^r.

⁵Dekker had already combined a Eucharist metaphor with the motif of Christ's betrayal in Sir Thomas Wyatt (see my Chapter IV, note 48).

⁶Strype, I, Pt. 1, 81. This sacrificial vision gave impetus to the Protestant characterization of Catholicism as pagan. Apparently the Reformers could not assimilate the seeming contradiction between Catholic Eucharist doctrine and this ambiguous position: "Again, Paul stressed the reality of the Body and Blood of Christ [in the Eucharist] by comparing the Christian sacrifice to those of the Jews and the Pagans. Both pagan and Jew offered real sacrificial victims and then partook of the sacrificial food, believing that they were thereby united to divinity. The Christian must not participate in these sacrifices because he already has the one true and acceptable sacrifice, that of Christ Himself" (New Catholic Encyclopedia, V, 603).

⁷Richard James, 17.

⁸Quoted in Foxe, VI, 419, Jane's letter to Harding, who had reverted to Catholicism under Mary.

⁹Richard James, 12.

¹⁰Abuses of the Romish Church, sig. B6^r.

¹¹Rawlinson, The Romish Judas, 32.

¹²Grosart, III, 15.

¹³John Bale, The Image of Both Churches, Select Works of Bishop Bale, ed. Henry Christmas (Cambridge, 1849, for the Parker Society), 393.

¹⁴See the New Catholic Encyclopedia, V, 601, where this metaphor for wine is cited in justification of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Wine is referred to as "blood of grapes" at Genesis 49:11 and Deuteronomy 32:14.

¹⁵Ibid., V, 601.

¹⁶Richard James, 10.

¹⁷Daniel Featley, The Grand Sacrilege of the Church of Rome, in taking away the Sacred Cup from the Laity at the Lord's Table (London, 1630), sig. B1^v.

¹⁸Bale, Kynge Johan, 96.

¹⁹Anon., A Pleasant Dialogue Betweene a Souldior of Barwicke, and an English Chaplaine. Wherein are largely handled and laide open, such reasons as are brought in for maintenaunce of Popishe traditions in our Eng. Church (London, 1581), sig. A6^r.

²⁰Compare Match Mee in London (1631):

King. Adulterated I doubt.

Bilbo. No adultery in the world in't, no sophistication but pure as it comes from the cod (II, i, 161-3).

²¹John Bale, "Preface," The Examination of Sir John Oldcastle, Select Works of Bishop Bale, ed. Henry Christmas, 13.

²²This speech is included in a scene attributed to Massinger. In view, however, of Dekker's use of the image of poison in gold consistently elsewhere (especially, in The Whore of Babylon), and his use of the image in the conversation of Hircius and Spungius, I would be inclined to assign the speech to him. At least he is commenting on its significance by having Hircius and Spungius use the same image in a similar frame of reference, and by having Theophilus pick up the theological word "essentiall" to describe the fruit sent by Dorothea. Both Sykes and Bowers have noted the apparent occurrence of both dramatists' work in the same scene or speech elsewhere.

²³Featley, The Grand Sacrilege of the Church of Rome, sig. Gg2^v.

²⁴Foxe, VI, 405.

²⁵Quoted in the New Catholic Encyclopedia, XIII, 767.

²⁶Bale, Askewe, 155.

²⁷Richard James, 9.

²⁸Ibid., 10.

²⁹Humphrey, Hydra, sig. H4^v.

³⁰Foxe, I, 83.

³¹Ibid., I, 86.

³²Michel, "The Possibility of a Christian Tragedy," Tragedy: Modern Essays in Criticism, 225.

³³Rous, The Diseases of the Times, 436.

³⁴Perkins, 195.

³⁵William Cornwallis, Discourses Upon Seneca the Tragedian (London, 1601), sig. B3^v.

³⁶Reynolds, The Triumphs of Gods Revenge, sig. B2^r.

³⁷Perkins, 233.

³⁸Quoted in Strype, II, Pt. 2, 119.

³⁹Farnham, 23.

⁴⁰Foxe, VI, 422.

⁴¹Perkins, 20.

⁴²Ibid., 8.

⁴³Tyndale, 63.

⁴⁴Perkins, 337.

⁴⁵This statement, which appears parenthetically, occurs in a scene which Bowers conjectures might have been written by Massinger and revised by Dekker. The qualification which the clause places upon Dorothea's own "powers" is the Protestant qualification of saints in general.

⁴⁶Farnham, 85.

⁴⁷W. H. Auden, "The Christian Tragic Hero: Contrasting Captain Ahab's Doom and its Classical Greek Prototype," Tragedy: Modern Essays in Criticism, ed. Laurence Michel and Richard B. Sewall (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964), 234.

⁴⁸Perkins, 2.

⁴⁹Ernst F. Winter, trans. and ed., Erasmus--Luther: Discourse on Free Will (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1961), 20.

⁵⁰Ibid., 113.

⁵¹Foxe, VI, 419.

⁵²Tyndale, 192.

⁵³H. Cheeke, "Dedication," to Negri de Bassano's A certayne tragedie entituled Freewyl (English translation: London, 1589), Aii^v.

Appendix One

¹Sykes, 63.

²Bowers, III, 372.

³Ibid., III, 372.

Appendix Two

¹C. H. Herford, Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century (Cambridge, 1886), 80, hereafter cited as Herford.

²"Roswitha's Preface to Her Poetical Works," The Plays of Roswitha, ed. Christopher St. John (2nd edn.; New York: Benjamin Blom, 1966), xxvi.

³Clubb, 114: "Sacrimonialem secutus Rosphitam/Stilum que vortit in sacratos martires."

⁴In 1922, Goswin Frenken discovered a second manuscript in the Municipal Archives of Cologne, containing all the plays except Sapientia and Paphnutius. See Edwin H. Zeydel, "A Chronological Hrotsvitha Bibliography through 1700 with Annotations," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, XLVI (1947), 290-4.

⁵Ibid., 292.

⁶Edwin H. Zeydel, "The Reception of Hrotsvitha by the German Humanists after 1493," Journal of English and Germanic Philology, XLIV (1945), 239. Zeydel's translation of an epigram by Johann Kammerer von Dalberg of Oppenheim.

⁷Ibid., 244; Wilibald Pirckheimer's epigram.

⁸Herford, 139.

⁹Ibid., 139.

¹⁰Cardinal Gasquet, in his "Preface" to Christopher St. John's The Plays of Roswitha, states: "In fact, the English scholar, Laurence Humphrey, who first introduced them to notice in this country, endeavoured to prove that Roswitha was no other than St. Hilda of Northumbria."

¹¹Christina H. Garrett, The Marian Exiles (Cambridge: University Press, 1938), 194, hereafter cited as Garrett. Humphrey and Foxe were certainly in close communication at Basle, as a letter dated, from thence, June 23, 1559, from the former to Heinrich Bullinger attests: "Both master Foxe and myself are anxious to know what is his [a friend identified only as "Frensham"] state, that is whether he has departed or is yet alive" (The Zurich Letters, 2nd Series, ed. Hastings Robinson [Cambridge: Parker Society, 1845], 21).

¹²Strype, III, Pt. 1, 736.

¹³Lily B. Campbell, Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England, 181.

¹⁴Herford, 139.

¹⁵Ibid., 138.

¹⁶Jacobus Verheiden, The History of the Modern Protestant Divines (London, 1637), 200. Of these divines, he says: "They were in their times great Antagonists to the Roman cause"

¹⁷Herford, 119.

¹⁸Ibid., 124.

¹⁹Ibid., 139.

²⁰Albert Cohn (Shakespeare in Germany in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, 1865) notes this alleged fiction, calling St. Hilda, suggestively, "Hilda Heresvida." Charles Magnin (Théâtre de Hrotsvitha, Paris, 1845) calls Humphrey's fabrication "Un memorable exemple d'infatuation nationale," xix. St. Hilda (d. 688) founded the Abbey of Streoneshealh (Whitby); she did in fact have a sister called Hereswith. However, no mention of her identification with Hrotsvitha appears in John Bale's Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum (Basle, 1558), where her only writings are listed as Visisaxonum episcopum and Meditationes pias (sig. K4^v).

²¹Seidel apparently tried to refute Humphrey's thesis, alleging rather that Hrotsvitha was in fact Helena von Rossow of Brandenburg.

²²Lily B. Campbell, Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England, 156.

²³Ibid., 164.

²⁴Thomas James, Catalogues Librorum Bibliothecae publicae quam T. Bodleius in academia Oxoniensi nuper instituit (1605), 67.

²⁵Garrett, 93.

²⁶Anthony Wood, Athenae Oxonienses (London, 1694), 326.

²⁷Thomas Heywood, GUNAIKEION (London, 1624), 136.

²⁸For example, Alice Kemp-Welch in Of Six Medieval Women (London, 1913), 24; Albert Cohn in Shakespeare in Germany, I; Christopher St. John in her "Preface" to The Plays of Roswitha, xx; and H. H. Stewart, "Romeo's first Love," Baconiana, 3rd Series, IX (1911), 191-7.

²⁹Geoffrey Bullough, ed., Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), VI, 352.

³⁰Clubb, 106.

³¹Helen Waddell, The Wandering Scholars (7th edn.; London: Constable, 1966), 84.

³²Charles Magnin, Théâtre de Hrotsvitha (Paris, 1845), lii.

³³Hunt, 17.

³⁴Anthony Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, 73.

³⁵Herford, 110.

³⁶Alfred Harbage, in his Annals of the English Stage, lists parts I and II of a play called Fair Constance of Rome (1600) written by Dekker, Munday, Drayton, Hathway, and Wilson, and now lost: Constance (Constantine's daughter) is the heroine of Hrotswitha's Gallicanus, also in two parts. An anonymous play, Constantine, written between 1580 and 1592, was acted by the Admiral's Company. In 1596, the Company produced Julian the Apostate: Julian is the persecuting emperor in both the Gallicanus II of Hrotswitha, and the Pammachius of Kirchmayer.

³⁷Clubb, 106.

Appendix Three

¹See Foxe, I, 243, where Dorothea and Theophilus are listed with the names of other martyrs.

²Grosart, II, 170.

³Jones-Davies, II, 361.

⁴Irving Ribner, The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare (Princeton, 1957), 217. This view is shared by Gertrude Reese, "The Question of the Succession in Elizabethan Drama," University of Texas Studies in English (1942), 73.

⁵Garrett, 170.

⁶Quoted by Foxe, VI, 425:

Jana jacet saevo non aequae vulnere mortis,
 Nobilis ingenio, sanguine, martyrio.
 Ingenium Lattiis ornavit foemina musis,
 Foemina virgineo tota dicata choro.
 Sanguine clara fuit, regali stirpe creata,
 Ipsaque reginae nobilitata throno.
 Bis Graia est, pulchre Graiis nutrita camoenis,
 Et prisco Graium sanguine creta ducum.
 Bis martyr, sacrae fidei verissima testis,
 Atque vacans regni crimini Jana jacet.

⁷Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, Series 2, ed. Hastings Robinson (Cambridge, 1847, for the Parker Society), 515.

⁸Ibid., 716.

⁹Anthony Wood, Athenae Oxonienses (London, 1694), 193.

¹⁰Dictionary of National Biography, XI, 183.

¹¹Anthony Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, 125.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Primary Literary Materials

- Anonymous. The Tragedy of Nero. London, 1624. Short-Title Catalogue of English Books 1475-1640 (hereafter cited as STC) no. 18430; microfilm reel 967.
- Bale, John. The Dramatic Writings of John Bale, Bishop of Ossory. Ed. John S. Farmer. Guildford, England: Charles W. Traylen, 1966 (facsimile of the edition published by the Early English Drama Society, London, 1907).
- . Kynge Johan. A Play in Two Parts. Ed. J. Payne Collier. London: Camden Society, 1838.
- Copley, Anthony. A Fig for Fortune. London, 1596. STC 5737; reel 206.
- Crewe, Thomas. The Nosegay of morall Philosophie, lately dispersed amongst many Italian authors. London, 1580. STC 6039; reel 206.
- Cunliffe, John W. Early English Classical Tragedies. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912.
- Dekker, Thomas. The Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker. 4 vols. Ed. Fredson Bowers. Cambridge: The University Press, 1958.
- . The Non-Dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker. 5 vols. Ed. A. B. Grosart. New York: Russell and Russell, 1963 (first published 1886).
- . Thomas Dekker. Ed. E. D. Pendry. London: Edward Arnold, 1967.
- . Thomas Dekker (Mermaid edition). Ed. Ernest Rhys. London: Ernest Benn Limited, n. d.
- Farmer, John S., ed. Early English Dramatists: Anonymous Plays (3rd Series). Guildford, England: Charles W. Traylen, 1966 (facsimile of the edition published by the Early English Drama Society, London, 1906).
- Fenton, Geoffrey. Certaine Tragical Discourses, written oute of Frenche and Latin. London, 1567. STC 10791; reel 224.

------. Golden Epistles, Contayning varietie of discourse both Morall, Philosophicall, and Diuine gathered as well out of the remaynder of Gueuaraes workes, as other Authors, Latine, French, and Italian. London, 1575. STC 10794; reel 225.

Foxe, John. Christ Iesus Triumphant. Trans. John Day. London, 1579. STC 11231; reel 538.

Greene, Robert. Arbasto, the Anatomie of Fortune. London, 1584. STC 12218; reel 344.

Higgins, John. The Mirror for Magistrates. London, 1587. STC 13445; reel 324.

Hrotswitha. The Plays of Roswitha. Trans. Christopher St. John. With an Introduction by Cardinal Gasquet and a Critical Preface by the translator. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1966 (first published at London: Chatto & Windus, 1923).

------. Théâtre de Hrotsvitha Religieuse Allemande du X^e Siècle. Trans. Charles Magnin. Paris: Duprat, 1845.

Kirchmayer, Thomas. The Popishe Kingdome, or reigne of Antichrist. Trans. B. Googe. London, 1570. STC 15011; reel 346.

Massinger, Philip. The Plays of Philip Massinger in Four Volumes. Ed. W. Gifford. London, 1813.

------. Philip Massinger. Ed. Lucius A. Sherman. New York: American Book Company, 1912.

Negri de Bassano, Francesco. A certayne tragedie entituled Freewyl. Trans. H. Cheeke. London, 1589. STC 18419; reel 967.

Pollard, Alfred W., ed. English Miracle Plays, Moralities and Interludes. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904.

2. Primary Critical Materials: Historical, Literary, and Polemical

Anonymous. The Abuses of the Romish Church Anatomized by a Well-willer to Sion, and to all them that loue the Truth in the Truth. London, 1623. STC 21302; reel 684.

------. An Answere or Admonition to those of the Church of Rome, touching the Iubile proclaimed by the Bull, made and set foorth by Pope Clement the eyght, for the yeare of our Lord 1600. London, 1600. STC 21304; reel 394.

- . The Fall of Babylon in Vsurping Ecclesiastical Power and Offices. And the Miserable Estate of them that pertake of her fornications. Amsterdam, 1634. STC 1011; reel 822.
- . The fierie tryall of Gods saints as a counterpoyze to J. W., Priest, in his English Martyrologe. London, 1611. STC 24269; reel 773.
- . The Life, Death and Actions of the Most Chast, learned, and Religious Lady, the Lady Jane Gray, Daughter to the Duke of Suffolke. London, 1615. STC 7281; reel 955.
- . A Pleasaunt Dialogue Betweene a Souldior of Barwicke, and an English Chaplaine. Wherein are largely handled and laide open, such reasons as are brought in for maintenaunce of popishe Traditions in our Eng. Church. N. p., 1581. STC 6810; reel 420.
- Aylmer, John. An Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subjects agaynst the late blowne blaste concerning the gouernmēt of wemen. Strasburg, 1559. STC 1005; reel 194.
- Bale, John. A brefe Chronycle concernynge the Examinacyon and death of the blessed martyr of Christ sir John Oldcastle. N. p., 1544. STC 1276; reel 22.
- . An Expostulation or Complaynte against the blasphemies of a franticke pappist of Hampshyre. London, 1551. STC 1294; reel 636.
- . Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum. Basel, 1558. STC 1296; reel 636.
- . The Image of Both Churches. London, 1548. STC 1297; reel 23.
- . Select Works of John Bale, D. D., Bishop of Ossory, Containing the Examinations of Lord Cobham, William Thorpe, and Anne Askewe, and the Image of Both Churches. Ed. Henry Christmas. Cambridge: University Press (for the Parker Society), 1849.
- Bullinger, Heinrich. The Tragedies of Tyrants Exercised upon the Church. London, 1575. STC 4078; reel 185.
- Bunny, Francis. A Comparison betweene the auncient fayth of the Romans, and the new Romish Religion. London, 1595. STC 4098; reel 185.
- Calvin, John. Concerning the Eternal Predestination of God. Trans. J. K. S. Reid. London: James Clarke, 1961 (first published at Geneva, 1552).

Collier, Jeremy. A Short View of the Immorality and Profanenesse of the English Stage, together with the sense of Antiquity upon this argument. London, 1698. Short-Title Catalogue of English Books 1641-1700 (Wing) C5263; reel 136.

Cornwallis, William. Discourses upon Seneca the Tragedian. London, 1601. STC 5774; reel 953.

Coverdale, Miles. Certain most godly, fruitful, and comfortable letters of such true Saints and holy Martyrs, as in the late bloodye persecution here within this Realme London, 1564. STC 5886; reel 217.

Featley, Daniel. The Grand Sacrilege of the Church of Rome, In taking away the Sacred Cup from the Laiety at the Lord's Table. London, 1630. STC 10733; reel 793.

-----, trans. A Parallel of New-Old Pelagiarminian Error. London, 1626. STC 10735; reel 793.

Foxe, John. Acts and Monuments. Ed. George Townsend. London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, 1837.

Grafton, Richard. This Chronicle of Briteyn, beginning at William the Conquerour, endeth with our moste dread and soveraigne Lady Queene Elizabeth. London, 1568. STC 12146; reel 545.

Heywood, Thomas. An Apology for Actors. Containing Three briefe Treatises. London, 1612. STC 13309; reel 890.

-----, GUNAIKEION: or, Nine Bookes of Various History. Concernynge Women; Inscribed by ye names of ye Nine Muses. London, 1624. STC 13326; reel 890.

Humphrey, Lawrence. Iesvitismi Pars Secunda: Purit Anopapismi. London, 1584. STC 13961; reel 468.

-----, The Nobles: or, of Nobilitye: the original nature, duties, rightes, and Christian institution thereof three bookes. London, 1563. STC 13964; reel 249.

-----, A View of the Romish Hydra and Monster, Traison, Against the Lords Anointed, Confuted in Seven Sermons. Oxford, 1588. STC 13966; reel 571.

James, Richard. A Sermon concerning the eucharist, delivered in Oxford. Oxford, 1629. STC 14441; reel 741.

James, Thomas. Catalogues Bibliothecae publicae quam T. Bodleius in academia Oxoniensi nuper instituit. 1605. STC 14449; reel 741.

- King, John. A Sermon Preached at Whitehall 5 Nov. 1608. Oxford, 1608. STC 14968; reel 762.
- Kingsmill, Andrew. A Viewe of mans estate wherein the great mercy of God in mans free justification by Christ is very comfortably declared. London, 1576. STC 15003, reel 472.
- Lodge, Thomas. A Reply to Stephen Gosson's Schoole of Abuse in Defence of Poetry Musick and Stage Plays. In vol. I of The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge (Hunterian Club, 1883). Reprint by Johnson Reprint Company, New York, 1966.
- Mason, Henry. The Epicures Fast: or A Short Discourse, Discovering the Licentiousnesse of the Roman Church in her religious fasts. London, 1626. STC 17608; reel 1074.
- Munday, Anthony. An Advertisement and defence for Trueth against her Backbiters, and specially against the whispring favourers and Colourers of Campions, and the rest of his confederates treasons. London, 1581. STC 18259; reel 324.
- The English Romaine Lyfe. Discovering: The lives of the Englishmen at Roome. London, 1582. STC 18272; reel 426.
- Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation, Written During the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary. Edited for the Parker Society by Hastings Robinson. Cambridge: University Press, 1847.
- Perkins, William. A Treatise tending unto a declaration whether a man be in the estate of damnation or in the estate of grace. London, 1589. STC 19752; reel 382.
- Prynne, William. Histrion-mastix. The Players Scourge, or, Actors Tragaedie, Divided into Two Parts. London, 1633. STC 20464; reel 933.
- Puttenham, George. The Arte of English Poesie. London, 1589. STC 20519; reel 421.
- Rawlinson, John. The Romish Judas. A Sermon Preached at Saint Maries in Oxford the Fifth of November 1610. London, 1611. STC 20775; reel 934.
- Reynolds, John. The Triumphs of Gods Revenge, Against the Crying and execrable Sinne of Murther: or, His Miraculous discoveries and severe punishments thereof: In thirty severall Tragical Histories. London, n. d. STC 20943; reel 904.

- Reynolds, Richard. A Chronicle of all the noble Emperours of the Romaines, from Iulius Caesar, orderly to this moste victorious Emperour Maximilian, that now governeth. London, 1571. STC 20926; reel 393.
- Roberts, Henry. A Defiance to Fortune. Proclaimed by Andrugio, noble Duke of Saxony, declaring his miseries, and continually crossed with unconstant Fortune, the banishment of himselfe, his wife and children. London, 1590. STC 21078; reel 1003.
- Robinson, Richard. The rewarde of Wickednesse. Discoursing the sundry monstrous abuses of wicked and ungodly worldelinges: in such sort set downe and written as the same have been dyversely practised in the persones of Popes, Harlots, Proude Princes, Tyraunts, Romish Byshoppes, and others. London, 1574. STC 21120; reel 351.
- Rous, Francis. The Diseases of the Time, Attended by their Remedies. London, 1622. STC 21340; reel 684.
- Scott, Thomas. Robert Earle of Essex his Ghost, Sent from Elizian: To the Nobility, Gentry, and Communalitie of England. "Paradise" (London), 1624. STC 22084; reel 975.
- Taylor, Thomas. A mappe of Rome: Lively Exhibiting Her Mercilesse Meekenesse, and cruell mercies to the Church of God. London, 1619. STC 23837; reel 1037.
- Tyndale, William. "The Obedience of a Christian Man." The Thought and Culture of the English Renaissance. Ed. Elizabeth M. Nugent. Cambridge: University Press, 1956.
- Verheiden, Jacobus. The History of the Modern Protestant Divines. Trans. D. L. London, 1637. STC 24660; reel 1120.
- Veron, Jean. A Stronge battery against the Idolatrous invocation of the dead Saintes, and against the havynge or setting up of Images in the house of prayer, or in any other place where there is any peril of Idolatrye, made dialoguewise. N. p., 1562. STC 24686; reel 1120.
- Vicars, Thomas. Edom and Babylon against Jerusalem . . . Occasioned by the most happy Deliverance of our Church and State (on November 5, 1605) from the most bloody Designe of the Papist Gunpowder Treason. London, 1633. STC 24699; reel 1120.
- Villegas, Alfonso de. Flos Sanctorum. The Lives of Saints. Trans. W. and E. Paris, 1634. STC 24735; reel 1120.
- Whittingham, William. A Brief Discours of the troubles begonne at Franctford in Germany Anno Domini 1554. London, 1575. STC 25443; reel 372.

The Zurich Letters, Comprising the Correspondence of Several English Bishops and Others with some of the Helvetian Reformers, During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. 2nd Series. Edited for the Parker Society by Hastings Robinson. Cambridge: University Press, 1845.

3. Secondary Sources: Books

Abbey, C. J. Religious Thought in Old English Verse. London: Samson Low, Marston & Company, 1892.

Bevington, David. Tudor Drama and Politics: A Critical Approach to Topical Meaning. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968.

Blatt, Thora B. The Plays of John Bale: A Study of Ideas, Technique and Style. Copenhagen: G. E. C. Gad, 1968.

Boas, Frederick S. An Introduction to Stuart Drama. London: Oxford University Press, 1946.

----- . University Drama in the Tudor Age. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1966 (first published in 1914 by the Oxford University Press).

Bradbrook, M. C. Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy. Cambridge: The University Press, 1957 (first published 1935).

Brion, Marcel. Durer: His Life and Work. New York: Tudor Publishing Company, 1960.

Brooke, C. F. Tucker. The Tudor Drama: A History of English National Drama to the Retirement of Shakespeare. London: Archon Books, 1964.

Campbell, Lily B. Divine Poetry and Drama in Sixteenth-Century England. Cambridge: The University Press, 1959.

Chapman, Hester W. Lady Jane Grey. London: Jonathan Cape, 1962.

Clark, A. M. Thomas Heywood: Playwright and Miscellanist. New York: Russell and Russell, 1967.

Cohn, Albert. Shakespeare in Germany in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. An Account of English Actors in Germany and the Netherlands and of Plays Performed by them During the Same Period. Wiesbaden: Dr. Martin Sandig, 1967 (first published 1865).

Coulson, John, ed. The Saints: A Concise Biographical Dictionary. New York: Hawthorn Books, 1958.

- Courtney, W. L. The Idea of Tragedy in Ancient and Modern Drama. New York: Russell and Russell, 1967 (first published 1900).
- Cross, F. L., ed. The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church. London: Oxford University Press, 1951.
- de Luna, B. N. Jonson's Romish Plot: A Study of "Catiline" and its Historical Context. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.
- Ellis-Fermor, Una. The Jacobean Drama: An Interpretation. London: Methuen, 1958.
- Farnham, Willard. The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1936.
- Garrett, Christina Hallowell. The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism. Cambridge: The University Press, 1938.
- Greg, Walter W., ed. Henslowe's Diary. London: A. H. Bullen, 1904.
- Gregg, Kate L. Thomas Dekker: A Study in Economic and Social Backgrounds. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1924.
- Haller, William. Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation. London: Jonathan Cape, 1963.
- Harbage, Alfred. Annals of the English Drama 975-1700. Revised by S. Schoenbaum. London: Methuen, 1964.
- Harris, Jesse W. John Bale: A Study in the Minor Literature of the Reformation. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1940.
- Herford, Charles H. Studies in the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century. Cambridge: The University Press, 1886.
- Hunt, Mary Leland. Thomas Dekker: A Study. New York: Russell and Russell, 1964 (first published 1911).
- Jepson, Laura. Ethical Aspects of Tragedy: A Comparison of Certain Tragedies by Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripedes, Seneca and Shakespeare. Miami: University of Florida Press, 1953.
- Jones-Davies, M. T. Un Peintre de la vie Londonienne: Thomas Dekker. Paris: Librairie Marcel Didier, 1958.
- Kemp-Welch, Alice. Of Six Medieval Women: To Which is Added a Note on Medieval Gardens. London: Macmillan, 1913.

- Knappen, M. M. Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939.
- Krieger, Murray. The Tragic Vision: Variations on a Theme in Literary Interpretation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966.
- Lamb, Sidney. Tragedy. (Six radio lectures broadcast on CBC University of the Air). Toronto: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 1965.
- Mandel, Oscar. A Definition of Tragedy. New York: New York University Press, 1961.
- New Catholic Encyclopedia. 15 vols. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967.
- Nietzsche, Friedrich. The Birth of Tragedy and The Genealogy of Morals. Trans. Francis Golffing. New York: Doubleday & Company, 1956.
- Patch, Howard R. The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1927.
- Pearson, A. R. Scott. Thomas Cartwright and Elizabethan Puritanism 1535-1603. Cambridge: The University Press, 1925.
- Ribner, Irving. The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957.
- Schelling, Felix E. Elizabethan Drama 1558-1642. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company, 1908.
- Sewall, Richard B. The Vision of Tragedy. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959.
- Smith, G. Gregory, ed. Elizabethan Critical Essays. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904.
- Smith, William, and Henry Wace, eds. The Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines. 4 vols. London: John Murray, 1877.
- Spencer, Theodore. Death and Elizabethan Tragedy. New York: Pageant Books, 1960.
- Stephen, Leslie and Sidney Lee, eds. Dictionary of National Biography. 22 vols. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1908.
- Strype, John. Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion. 4 vols. New York: Burt Franklin, n. d. (first published at Oxford, 1824).

Thompson, Elbert N. S. The Controversy Between the Puritans and the Stage. New York: Russell and Russell, 1966 (first published 1903).

The Victoria History of the Counties of England. A History of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight. 6 vols. Westminster: Constable, 1900.

----- A History of Wiltshire. 5 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1967.

Waddell, Helen. The Wandering Scholars. 7th edn. London: Constable, 1966.

Ward, A. W. and A. R. Waller, eds. The Cambridge History of English Literature. 15 vols. Cambridge: The University Press, 1909, VI, 50-7.

Weisinger, Herbert. Tragedy and the Paradox of the Fortunate Fall. Michigan State College Press, 1953.

Winter, Ernst F., ed. Erasmus--Luther: Discourse on Free Will. New York: Frederick Ungar, 1961.

Wood, Anthony. Athenae Oxonienses. An Exact History of all the Writers and Bishops who have had their Education in the most ancient & famous University of Oxford (1500-1690). London, 1694. Short-Title Catalogue of English Books 1641-1700 (Wing) W3382; reel 117.

4. Secondary sources: Articles

Auden, W. H. "The Christian Tragic Hero: Contrasting Captain Ahab's Doom and its Classic Greek Prototype." Tragedy: Modern Essays in Criticism. Ed. Laurence Michel and Richard B. Sewall. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964.

Bradford, Gamaliel. "The Women of Dekker." Sewanee Review. XXXIII (1925), 284-90.

Clubb, Louise George. "The Virgin Martyr and the Tragedia Sacra." Renaissance Drama. VIII (1964), 105-21.

Drake, W. A. "Roswitha of Gandersheim." Texas Review. VIII (1923), 257-72.

Farnham, Willard. "The Mirror for Magistrates and Elizabethan Tragedy." Journal of English and Germanic Philology. XXV (1926), 66-78.

Jones-Davies, M. T. "Source du latin scolastique dans The Whore of Babylon de Thomas Decker." Etudes Anglaises. VI: 2 (1953), 142-4.

Kemp-Welch, Alice. "10th Century Dramatist: Roswitha the Nun." 19th Century. LXVI (1909), 814-26.

Michel, Laurence. "The Possibility of a Christian Tragedy." Tragedy: Modern Essays in Criticism. Ed. Laurence Michel and Richard B. Sewall. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1964.

Ovaa, W. A. "Thomas Dekker and The Virgin Martyr." English Studies. III (1921), 167-8.

Reese, Gertrude. "The Question of the Succession in Elizabethan Drama." University of Texas Studies in English (1942), 73-5.

Shaw, Philip. "Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Scenario of Lady Jane." Modern Language Quarterly. XIII (1952), 227-38.

Stewart, H. H. "Romeo's First Love." Baconiana. 3rd Series. IX (1911), 191-7.

Sykes, H. D. "Massinger and Dekker's The Virgin Martyr." Notes and Queries. CXLII (1922), 61-5 and 83-8.

Zeydel, Edwin H. "A Chronological Hrotsvitha Bibliography through 1700 with Annotations." Journal of English and Germanic Philology. XLVI (1947), 290-4.

-----, "Knowledge of Hrotsvitha's Works Prior to 1500." Modern Language Notes. LIX (1944), 382-5.

-----, "The Reception of Hrotsvitha by the German Humanists after 1493." Journal of English and Germanic Philology. XLIV (1945), 239-49.

B29923